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Indian Thought and Roman Stoicism

XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM

When Indian thought is compared with early Western philosophy, the Orphic and Pythagorean schools, Platonism, Epicurianism, neo-Platonism, and Stoicism, are those most mentioned.[1] In these comparisons it is not the metaphysical speculations of Indian philosophy, but the religious mysticism, the belief in metempsychosis, the ethical codes, the ascetic discipline, and vegetarianism, which were commonly stated as offering similarities and as worthy of notice. Lately, however, the mass of Indian metaphysical speculation and even significant legends have received from a widening circle of Western critics a more accurate and comparative interpretation than they used to receive, say, at the time of Lord Macaulay or John Ruskin.

It is hardly necessary to remind you of Macaulay's famous *Minute on Education* (1835), in which with characteristic rhetoric, he asserted, in opposition to those who would favour the continuation of the traditional learning of India, that

> " a single shelf of a good European Library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia ", and asked facetiously

[1] RADHAKRISHNAN S., (Ed.) *History of Philosophy Eastern and Western*, 2 vols, London, 1953., RADHAKRISHNAN S., *East and West, Some Reflections*, London, 1955; *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, 2nd ed. Oxford, 1940. ZIMMER HEINRICH, *Philosophies of India*, London, 1952.

> "whether when we can patronise sound philosophy and true history, we shall countenance at public expense medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding school, history abounding with kings thirty feet high and reigns 30,000 years long, and geography made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter."[2]

John Ruskin, in an inaugural lecture delivered at the Kensington museum a hundred years ago (1858), said that Indian Art, in spite of its delicacy and refinement, never represented a natural fact, but dealt in distorted and monstrous forms:

> "It will not draw a man but an eight-armed monster; it will not draw a flower, but only a spiral or a zig-zag."[3]

Today the statements of Macaulay regarding Indian Science and thought, and of Ruskin regarding Indian Art, are statements which are recalled merely to show the change which has occurred among cultured persons in the West regarding things Indian. There is no great need any more even for the spirited and eloquent presentations of the foundations of Indian culture which Sri Aurobindo made in the twenties of this century.[4] This change has been brought about gradually by the persevering labour of Western Indologists during the last hundred years and more, and by the popularisers who have made use of their research. Max Müller, Hermann Oldenberg,

[2] THOMSON EDWARD and GARRAT, G.T., *Rise and fulfilment of British Rule in India*, London, 1934.

[3] *The Two Paths.*

[4] Sri. AUROBINDO, *Foundations of Indian Culture*, Pondicherry, 1959.

W. E. Hopkins, Beriedale Keith, Julien Vinson, Rhys Davids, Heinrich Zimmer, Louis de la Vallèe Poussin, Jean Filliozat, Pierre Meile, Louis Renou, J. Gonda, Giuseppe Tucci, M. B. Emeneau, Thomas Burrow, A. L. Basham, and Kamil Zvelebil are representative names of western scholars, both dead and living, whose works continue to present Indian culture and Indian thought in reasonable perspective. Several other names too could be mentioned; and yet Henry Maine and his "nothing moves in the world which is not Greek in origin", still continues to be quoted; and Werner Jaeger in the last decade stated, in spite of so much literature on India, that one does wrong to ascribe the word "culture" to the Egyptians, Babylonians, Indians and Chinese, because while these do not have a single word for real culture as an ideal to be striven after, it is only the Hellenocentric world which possesses it.[5]

There is greater evidence available today to illustrate that the development of cultures, howsoever ancient, was hardly achieved in isolation, or by cultural mutation. The Greek genius did not bloom suddenly in the Eastern Mediterranean according to an Aristotelian concept of creation, *ex nihilo sui et subjecti.* The Greek phenomenon of the pre-Christian era is explained in part as the Indo-Āryan phenomenon of the pre-Christian era in the Indo-Gangetic plain is explained in part, by anterior migrations, existing religious cults and oral literatures, and by the influences exerted on incoming groups by civilised peoples already in possession of the land.

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[5] JAEGER WERNER, *Paideia, Ideals of Greek Culture,* Translated from the German, Vol. I. p. xvii, Oxford, 1946.

SYNTHESIS IN EDUCATION

Because of new and expanding lines of communication which have been opened, our mid-century tends more towards synthesis than analysis and modern educational objectives and methods seem to promote the tendency to find interrelationships and interdependence. The fragmentation of History like the fragmentation of the other Arts and Sciences, necessary, perhaps, because of the time-space limitations of the human mind, promotes an uneven emphasis and an imbalance which only synoptic and synthesising surveys may rectify. It was Alfred North Whitehead who observed.

> " a well-planned university course is a study of the wide sweep of generality ",

a generality which draws principles and power from a variety of concrete details.[6]

The thinkers, creative writers and poets of this mid-century represent this synoptic and synthesising trend, a trend already desired twenty-four centuries ago by Alexander the Great in founding Alexandria. In an historic address at a banquet of reconciliation which took place at Opis, after his Macedonian troops had mutinied because of the favour he had shown his Persian troops, Alexander called for a union of hearts (*homonoia*) and a joint commonwealth of peoples of the world. Alexandria which he founded became a commercial and intellectual centre of the Hellenic world where the East and the West met.[7]

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[6] *Aims of Education.*

[7] BARKER ERNEST, Art. "*Stoicism*" in *Ency. of Soial Sciences.*

Since then, the idea of a synthesis of world thought came into prominence now and then; it was prominent especially in the writings of a great educational thinker and pedagogue, John Amos Komensky (Comenius) (1592—1671), who outlined the plans for a University of the world to be located in England, where instruction undertaken in an artificially constructed international language would include *pan-sophia, pandogmatica,* and *pan history. Pandogmatica* was to contain the "quintessence of authors" from age to age and from land to land.[8]

Today, it should be hardly considered scholarship to compile the history of University education and ignore Takṣasilā, Nālandā and Kāncipuram; to discuss the nature of epic poetry and ignore the *Mahabhārata* the *Ramāyaṇa,* and the *Silappatikāram*; to write on the history of the scientific study of politics beginning with Machiavelli and yet not to mention the older *Arthaśastra,* to analyse mysticism and forget the Tamil bhakti poets; to explain methods of Scholasticism and fail to mention altogether Samkara and Rāmānuja; to teach of architecture and by pass the Moghuls; to teach the history of sculpture and ignore the Naṭarāja bronze which in spite of its four arms, *pace* Ruskin, or was it because of them, Auguste Rodin and Ananda Coomaraswamy were convinced, synthesised the highest achievement and total exploitation of sculptural possibilities[9]

[8] CURTIS, S.J. and BOULTWOOD, M.E A., *A Short History of Educational Ideas.* p. 186 ff London, 1953.

[9] See ZIMMER HEINRICH *Philosophies of India,* p. 28 ff. op. cit.

STOICISM AND LATER TIMES

Stoicism in our times is a name given to an attitude of mind as well as to a system of Philosophy which originated in Greece and was later expounded in Rome. As an attitude of mind denoting patient endurance it may be met anywhere. As a system of philosophy, some of its principal tenets seem similar to beliefs also obtaining in antiquity both in China and India. These similarities do not argue any identity of origin, or even identical sources of influence, but only demonstrate that the solutions to the problems of the practical aspects of life are limited in number and range, that philosophers are fairly well distributed in the civilized world and that similar social conditions in widely distant areas may create similarity in thought. Within India itself, the isolated life of ascetics, the control and extinction of desire, the indifference to pain and pleasure, the search for mental calm or ataraxy, the theistic and monistic order and harmony verified in the universe, and the human participation of divinity,

> *buddhir buddhimātam asmi*
> *tejas tejasvinām aham*
> I am the intelligence of the intelligent,
> I am splendour of the splendid,[10]

are possible fields of comparison with Roman Stoicism.

Roman or later Stoicism is claimed to be the greatest system of organised thought which the mind of man built up for itself in the Graeco-Roman world. Because of its way of looking at

[10] B.G. VII.

the world and at the problems of life it is still said to possess a permanent interest for the human race, and a permanent power of inspiration. Stoicism influenced the evolution of Roman jurisprudence, especially of the *lex naturalis* and the *lex gentium* and contained in germ the origins of international law. It furnished considerable proof and expression to the growth of natural theology and the thesis of the *anima naturaliter christiana*. Stoic ideas influenced Grotius (1583—1645) and Pufendorf (1632—1694) in the seventeenth century to formulate principles of international law, and it humanised the thinking of Erasmus and Montaigne as well as of the French Enlightenment.[12] In the Arab world thinkers like Al Fārābī (c. A.D. 870—950) and Ibn-Sina (980—1037) profitted by concepts they found in Stoic theology and ethics.[13] Such Stoic ideas of permanent interest need to be known wherever they may exist, and therefore, I propose to discuss two or three elements which may be termed "Stoic" as they are found in the Latin and Greek literature of Rome, and in the classical literature in Tamil, ascribed to the same first two centuries of the Christian era. The comparison between these two literatures is made more resourceful and apperceptive because of similar political and commercial factors which contributed to the widening of horizons in the two areas and because of the two-way trade

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[11] GILBERT MURRAY, *Stoic, Christian and Humanist*, p. 89 ff. 2nd ed. London, 1950.

[12] SVARLIEN OSCAR, *An Introduction to the Law of Nations*, Mcgraw-Hill, New York, 1955.

[13] See R. WALZER, *Islamic Philosophy* in *History of Philosophy Eastern and Western*, op. cit.

then obtaining between the Tamil country and the Roman empire.[14]

TAMIL ROMAN TRADE

Of the countries and peoples mentioned in the Tamil classics of this period as being engaged in active commerce with the Tamil country, there is mention either explicit or implied of North Indian kingdoms, of Ceylon, of Burma, and of Kedah in Malaya, but the *Yavanar* a general term used for peoples from the Mediterranean seaboard, occurs oftener than the names of other non-Indian foreign peoples. The wealthy quarters of the *Yavanar* to be found in Tamil harbour cities are explicitly mentioned in the Tamil classics while other foreigners are classed together as "multilingual groups." Valiant and hardlooking *Yavanar* clothed in leathern jackets are found as bodyguards in palaces and war-camps of Tamil kings; they also guard the city of Maturai and are employed as engineers operating defence machinery. Impressive Yavana ships, very large ones even as the classical geographers observe, and the "Greek ships from Egypt" as the *Periplus*, arrive churning the waters of the harbour of Musiri on the west coast, unload their cargoes especially of gold and silver, and return westwards with the pepper which brought excessive profits to Roman traders. Bronze Roman lamps bearing the figure of a swan or of a woman burn in the palaces of royalty; and

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[14] See E.H. WARMINGTON, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge, 1928.

WHEELER MORTIMER, R.E., *Rome beyond the Imperial frontiers*, *London*, 1954.

FILLIOZAT JEAN, *Les Relations Exterieurès de l'Inde*, Pondicherry, 1956.

Yavana wine is drunk from *Yavana* goblets of gold, refilled by bangled damsels. Yavana contingents are stationed to protect Yavana trade. One such contingent is located near a harbour in which the Peutinger tables have marked a temple dedicated to Augustus-*templum Augusti.*[15]

The number of ships sailing to Southern India from Alexandria and the Red Sea ports increased appreciably during this period.

Archaeology, the insignificant tiny areas which have been dug, takes the evidence further and confirms the literary evidence. Sherds of wine amphorae made in Arezzo or in Puteoli near Naples found among the basement ruins of an ancient storehouse near Pondicherry, on chemical analysis were found to contain the residue of a popular Grecian resin wine, the inferior quality meant for export. The gold of Rome mentioned in the Tamil poem has been found in abundance in hordes and in single specimens in the South of India and in coastal Ceylon and of these impressive finds, all first-century coins which are of Augustus (B.C. 63—A.D. 14) and Trajan (A.D. 53—117) not associated with later coinage, have been found only in the South. Sufficient Roman coinage found in the Tamil areas is preserved in museums, but an equal amount or more of the finds has also gone into the jewellery of women living near the ancient harbours of the Southern coast. Fragments of Roman lamps, a great attraction to the Tamil

[15] THOMSON J. OLIVER, *History of Ancient Geography* p. 298 ff. Cambridge, 1948

MEILE PIERRE, *Les Yavanas dans l'Inde Tamoule* in *Journal Asiatique*, 1940, pp. 85—123.

poets, have also been found along with Roman and native pottery.[16]

The literary evidence for this flourishing trade from the Roman side is remarkably revealing. The classical geographers have known the harbours of these three kingdoms as their knowledge has been continually increasing since the time of Megasthenes, (fl. 305 B.C.). The Naturalist, Pliny (A.D. 23—79), the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (1st cent. A.D.) and Ptolemy (2nd c. A.D.) mention at least forty harbours, towns, rivers and emporia along this southern coast, names most of which can be identified as those mentioned also in contemporary Tamil literature. Some of these prosperous towns and harbour cities are compared in beauty and resource to the heroines of love poetry.

"You are as rich and resourceful as Kuala Lumpur and Penang" might sound strange in love poetry today, but that is how the Tamil poet looked on his beloved drawing his comparisons from the pleasures and comforts that cities like *Musiris* and *Tyndis* and *Khaberis emporion* could provide.[17]

The classical geographers know of the three Tamil kingdoms (Pāndyan, Cēran, Cōlan), their capital cities, and the source of their wealth; they know other smaller dynasties and clans, *Aioi*, *Batoi*, *Kareoi*, *Toringoi*; they know of

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[16] FILLIOZAT JEAN, *Les relations exterieures de l'Inde* op. cit.

WHEELER MORTIMER, *Rome beyond the Imperial frontiers*, op. cit.

[17] THANI NAYAGAM, XAVIER. S., *Nature in Tamil Poetry*, Singapore, 1963.

Ceylon and the sailings from Ceylon to the South Indian coast, and mention in detail the merchandise which the Romans sought from the Tamil emporia such as fine textiles, pearls, beryls, pepper, cinnamon and other spices and perfumes.[18]

Tamil trade appears to have been even more voluminous with the Orient, with the Gangetic regions, the Malayan Archipelago and with China. The Romans and Arabs headed directly to the Tamil ports using the trade winds, and the Southern harbours were emporia from which Roman goods were transhipped to further East, and South-Eastern and Eastern goods, such as silk from China and tortoise-shell from Malaya, transhipped to the West. The *Periplus* is emphatic in assigning an important role to these emporia in the trade with the Ganges region and the Golden Chersonese or the Malay peninsula:

> "There are imported into these places everything made in Damirica; what is brought at any time from Egypt comes here, together with most kinds of all the things that are brought from Damirica and of those that are carried through Paralia."[19]

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[18] A close analysis of the information available from the classical geographers and writers shows that they knew more of the Tamil country than has been conceded hitherto by those who have interpreted them without examining the evidence of the Tamil sources. See *Mc. CRINDLE. J W. Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, London, 1885 and *The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean sea*, Calcutta, 1879; VINCENT, W. *The Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean*, 2 vols., London, 1807; VINCENT, W: *The Voyage of Nearchus and the periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, Oxford, 1809; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *The Classical accounts of India*, Calcutta, 1960.

[19] W. H. SCHOFF, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* p. 46, New York, 1912. See PAUL WHEATLEY, *The Golden Chersonese*, University of Malaya Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1961.

Later sources, Chinese, Arabic and European, point to the continuity of this centralised trade which developed because of a favourable geographical position, and the availability of merchandise coveted in East and West.

The trade in spices left certain Tamil names in Greek and Latin such as *zingiberi*, *zinpiberi* for ginger from incivĕr, and *piper* for pepper from *pippali*. Another Tamil word for pepper used at this period, *kari*, once the chief ingredient of Tamil culinary art, is left with us in *curry and rice* said to be according to one school of modern philosophers India's greatest contribution to world civilization. Huge barns along the Tiber erected in A.D. 92 stored this pepper, and the problem of exchange and the drain of Roman gold and silver into India worried Pliny who with Stoic austerity wishes to know who was the first to introduce this pungent spice to augment an already existing appetite, obtaining an unsavoury condiment all the way from India. The derivation of the Latin word for pearl (*margarites*) is not certain but the pearls of the Gulf of Mannar and of Korkai (Kolkhoi) were put to most extraordinary uses around the Mediterranean. You will remember the pearl which Cleopatra dissolved in vinegar in order to drink, as well as the dinner of a certain Clodius who gave each guest a pearl to swallow, and Nero throwing precious stones and pearls to the people and hanging his first beard adorned with pearls for veneration at the Capitol. Lollia Paulina, wife of the Emperor Gaius had 30 million of

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RENOU, L. *La Geographie de Ptolomee, l'Inde*, Paris, 1925.

sesterces worth of pearl ornaments; and Roman ladies had pearls on their fingers, toes, ears, sandals and shoes so that the rattling of pearls could be heard as they walked.[20]

The Tamil kingdoms provided the bulk of luxury articles the use of which the Roman Stoics and the early Christian writers deprecate with vigour. In examining Roman relations with India one is surprised at the association famous Roman Stoics have with the Greek and Latin evidence concerning India. Seneca (4 B.C.—A.D. 65), the best representative of Roman Stoicism of the first century, whose furniture included five hundred tripod tables embellished with legs of ivory imported most probably from India, wrote a book on India which has not reached us; and Flavius Arrianus (circ. 90—175) the most eminent Stoic of the first half of the second century, who has preserved the discourses of Epictetus, is also the one who wrote the *Indika*, and preserved the fragments of Megasthenes, Eratosthenes and Nearchus. Eratosthenes, the librarian in Alexandria from about 234 to 196 B.C. who preferred to divide men rather into good and bad than into Greeks and barbarians, is the earliest of the classical geographers of India. Posidonius (about 135—51 B.C.) who instructed Cicero and the Roman circles in a modified Stoicism who was a geographer as well, suggested, anticipating Columbus by sixteen centuries, that sailing from Spain one might strike India.[21]

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[20] WARMINGTON, E.H. *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, op. cit. 167 ff.

[21] THOMSON, OLIVER, J; *History of Ancient Geography* op. cit. See also TARN, W.W. *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 2nd ed. Cambridge, 1951.

The outline of mutual trade given above is a useful background to understand the sense of universality which is a dominant and characteristic element in Roman Stoicism and the Tamil thought of this era. It is of interest to note that while Grecian contacts with India occur through the overland route and are confined most to Northern India, the Roman contacts occur mainly by the sea route and during these first two centuries of the Christian era are predominantly with Southern India.

COSMOPOLITANISM

One of the contributions made by the Stoics to Western thought, significant for our century, is the inclusion of all men within an ethic of universal brotherhood, and within the bonds of a direct altruistic relationship of man to man. In Plato's ideal and actual states, and Aristotle's reports of Hellenic attitudes, the idea of a city-republic (the *polis*), isolated in its setting, rigorous in its maintenance of a ruling class, exclusive and selective in its citizenship and expressive of Hellenic or Athenian superiority in respect of the *barbaroi*, governed political thought and government. The ideal city of Plato was to be located about ten miles from the sea and away from the highroads so that its citizens might not suffer ideologically by contact with foreigners, and the government of the city might not become corrupt by the preference of foreign settlers for their own laws.[23] The inferior classes set

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[23] PLATO, The *Laws*, 704—707, ARISTOTLE, *Politics*, VII, 4—6. On Stoic reactions see BARKER EARNEST, *Greek Political Theory*, 4th ed. London, 1960; SINCLAIR, T. A. *A History of Greek Political Thought*, London, 1959.

permanently apart for crafts and agriculture were denied the rights of full citizenship and of education; there were those born to rule and others born to obey; slaves were denied the capacity for virtue, and women were denied even academic equality with men; and the foreigner was generally looked upon as unequal in culture and refinement compared with the Greek. Aristotle whose views of the *barbaroi* are only in partial agreement with Plato's, says:

> "The Hellenes regard themselves as noble everywhere, and not only in their own country; but they deem the barbarians noble only when at home, thereby, implying that there are two sorts of nobility and of freedom, the one absolute, the other relative" (*Politics*, 1, 6).

In the Greek world there was another trend less exclusivistic, and that was traced to the Sophists, but assumed a supreme importance with the decline of the city state, and as Alexander's concepts of empire gained adherents. As early as the fifth century B.C. Antiphon, the sophist, repudiated the distinction between nobleman and slave and between Greek and barbarian as unnatural. This was the attitude of the Cynics as well, but the philosophers of the Porch, whose most important exponents were not Athenians and who had no loyalty to Attica, made it a fundamental principle of their system. Zeno had the same attitude as the Cynics, and said: "why should I be proud of Attica with its worms and its slugs?" In his *Ideal State,* a book lost to us, Zeno is said to have visualised the world as

TARN, WILLIAM and GRIFFITH, G.T. *Hellenistic Civilization*, London, 1959.

one great city where all were citizens bound together by a law of love. This concept of the *cosmopolis* has received more tributes than any other Hellenistic concept, and has formed the foundation of the Stoic sense of universality. The temper of these foreign Stoic teachers who came from the periphery of the Hellenistic world, was the same as that of Meleager, the father of the Greek anthology, a Syrian from Gadara educated in Tyre:

"What is the wonder if I am a Syrian? There is one motherland, stranger, in which we all dwell, and that is the Cosmos: there is one Father of whom we are all begotten, and He is the void."

The Stoics were prepared to overlook differences of race, of colour and of class in one great cosmic unity, and these equalising principles acquired great practical import within the Roman Empire, comprising as it did a wide range of ethnic and culture groups over a distended geographical area, and a wider world made familiar to it through commerce. The Latin poets of the Empire at the same time that they are patriotic and crown Rome with their tributes and laurels as the goddess of the earth, are yet sensitive to this new universal outlook and introduce new sentiments of solidarity and unity in mankind and in the cosmos. Slavery becomes so mitigated that manumission and self-purchase creates a new wealthy class of those who had once been slaves.[23] The statesmen-philosophers like Seneca

[23] Very few books were available in Malaya on the Romans, their culture and civilisation, at the time of the composition of this lecture.

and Marcus Aurelius are very explicit on the dual citizenship which they professed, one of Rome and the Roman Empire, and the other of the world at large. Seneca (4 BC—AD. 65) says in words which seem deliberately chosen to contradict the earlier views of Plato and Aristotle:

> "no man is nobler than his fellow, even if it happen that his spiritual nature is better constituted and he is more capable of higher learning. The world is the mother of us, all, and the ultimate origin of each one of us can be traced back to her, whether the steps in the ladder of descent be noble or humble. To no one is virtue forbidden; she is accessible to all; she admits everyone, she invites everyone in; free men and freedmen, slaves, kings and exiles. She regards neither birth nor fortune; the man alone is, all she wants."

Epictetus, (c. 90) the lame slave and philosopher says:

> "Nature is wonderful and full of love for all creatures."

And Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 121—180):

"My nature is rational and social, and my city and my country, so far as I am Antonious is Rome, but so far as I am a man, is the world."[24]

These Stoic teachings caused the recognition of the equality of all men, gave equal legal status to men and women, conferred human

[24] These and similar texts may be found in SCHWEITZER ALBERT, *Ethics and Civilization*. See ARNOLD VERNON, *Roman Stoicism*, London, 1911; BEVAN EDWYN, *Stoics and Sceptics*, ZELLER D., *The Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics*, Oxford, 1892; BARROW, R.H. *The Romans*, (Penguin).

rights on the slave and humanised the institution of slavery though not abolishing it. The Christian writer, Lactantius, finds it worth stating that the Stoics mode if possible for "women and slaves to become philosophers."

During the comparable period, there were different systems of thought within India providing their own answers to the problems concerning which the Stoics speculated or provided practical answers. Of these systems, the best known is the stream of Brāhminic thought, the recorded literature of which is the earliest which India has to offer. By this time, Brāhminism had developed a literature which was very exclusivistic in its concept of group life. Though Vedic and post-Vedic Monism should have developed into an all-embracing ethic of love, the *Arthaśāstras* and *Dharmaśāstras* basing their stratification of society on colour and caste imposed limits on the education of the masses, denied Vedic learning to the Śūdras, and were in theory less flexible in their laws than the ideal and actual states contemplated by Plato and Aristotle. Brāhminic law literature also defined the area between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas, "where the black antelope roams" as the sacred land of the Aryas, the *karmabhumi*, within which one would have to be born or reborn to be saved.[25]

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[25] See MANU, 156. MANU, X, 102, 103; APASTAMBA, 1, 2, 7, 20, 21; MANU, II, 22. *Vasisthadharma*, I, 12—13.

"Some (declare the country of the Āryas to be situated) between the rivers Ganga and Yamuna. Others (state as) an alternative that spiritual pre-eminence (is found) as far as the black antelope grazes." See HOPKINS E. W., *Ethics of India*, p 52 ff., Yale University Press, New Haven, 1924. R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Hinduism, a retrospect and a re-*

While Brāhminic social thought bears some resemblance to the excluvism of the city republics of Greece, the social thought of the ascetic schools bears resemblance to the cosmopolitanism of the Stoics. Jainism, Buddhism and Ajivikism seem to be older in their traditions than the age of their known founders, and point to the existence of non-Vedic systems and ascetic schools which developed contemporaneously with Brāhminic thought. The ascetic religions were missionary religions, especially Buddhism, which embarked on a missionary programme, one of the most thorough and intelligent in the history of religions in Asia.

Brāhminic and Buddhist social thought is contained in priestly or monastic religious literatures. But the earliest Tamil literature is a secular literature, and Tamil society is one in which the poets and thinkers have the prestige which the Brāhmins have in Aryanised society and the monks have in states which foster Jainism and Buddhism.[26] There is no monism or mysticism of identity with the Primal origin of Being or ethical pluralism evident in this literature; the reasons for universal brotherhood are drawn merely from the nature of man (the *phusis* and *natura* of the Stoics), and from a rationalistic and humanistic unity to be found in Nature and the Cosmos. For a Tamil poet in the first or second century A.D. to have said almost like Seneca or Marcus Aurelius:

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view, in *Group prejudices in India, a symposium*, Vora and Company, Bombay, 1951, p. 72. KANE P. V., *History of Dharmaśastra*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 110 ff. Poona, 1946.

[26] See MEILLE PIERRE, *Littérature Tamoule* in *Hist. des littératures* I, Ency. de la Plèiade.

> "Every country is my country and every man is my kinsman,"

seems remarkable indeed.[27] The motive to embark on a life-long education of the self, a process so clearly outlined in Confucius and in Plato and revived in our times under the total concept of Adult Education is stated in this literature to be man's citizenship of the world. Since every country and every city is his own, he ought therefore to continue to learn about them all his life. A more suitable motto for education for membership in the world community would be hard to find in antiquity than the verse:

> "Yātānum nāḍāmāl ūrāmāl en ōruvan
> sāntuṇayum kallātavāru."[28]

The broder solidarity in cosmopolitanism is generally strengthened by the loyalty to a particularistic national society, and in Tamil thought a triple loyalty is implied, one to a particular Tamil kingdom, the second to a citizenship in the pan-Tamilism of three kingdoms; and a third, the citizenship of the word.

There is no slighting of the foreigner; foreign countries are merely those where the language differs, and the multilingual foreign groups of the harbour cities are mentioned with deference. The references to the few and small vedic communities in different parts of the country are always courteous even when their peculiarities are mentioned. One cannot help concluding that

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[27] THANI NAYAGAM. XAVIER S. *Ideal of the Expanding self* in *Annals of Oriental Research of the University of Madras*, Vol. XVII (1960—61).

[28] *Tirukkural*. 397.

the politial and commercial importance of the Tamil states and their harbour cities and capitals during the first two centuries of the Christian era, and urbanisation and frequent travel have developed this sense of universality.

HUMAN BROTHERHOOD

Human Brotherhood is a concomitant concept of universality, either as its cause or as its result. The stratification of society, the institution of slavery and the total dedication to the city-state, were the main obstacles to the notion of human brotherhood in Greece in the same manner that particularistic racial and religious sentiments and laws governing Śūdras and foreigners were the main obstacles to the development of human brotherhood in the society where Aryan law was paramount. It has been the tendency among some scholars to rationalise the caste system of India and justify it by a great number of arguments and after-thoughts which do not bear scrutiny, as it has been the fashion for certain classical scholars to mitigate the nature of slavery in Greece. Those of us who are unable to be so romantically inclined towards these institutions, accept slavery in Greece as slavery and caste in India as caste. [29]

There was always in India a current of opinion which was hostile to caste restrictions. Of this antagonism we have adequate evidence in the Buddhist books as well as in *Vaiṣṇava* and *Śaiva* literature. The Buddhist books, however, are those most eloquent in repudiating

[29] See SHARMA, RAM SHARAN, *Sudras in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1958.

colour and caste prejudices, and these prejudices must have been insupportable to those discriminated against judging from the trend of the argument in the Nikāyas. The Buddhist books consider caste prerogative based on birth and colour as the greatest social evil with which they have to contend, and open the doors of asceticism to men and women and lay following to all groups without distinction.

Rhys Davids has considerable evidence to support him when in one of his erudite and searching introductions to the *Suttas,* he says,

> "Had the Buddha's views on the whole question won the day and widely shared as they were by others, they very nearly prevailed—the evolution of social grades and distinctions would have gone on in India on lines similar to those it followed in the West. *and the caste-system of India* would never have been built up."[30]

Some of the arguments used in the Nikāyas against caste prerogatives are most amusing as when it is said oxen are not classified by their colour but by their strength and activity, and so, too should honours be conferred on men according to ability, and if a sūdra were wealthy, the brāhmins would be there to serve him.[31] It all sounds so much like the arguments used in this twentieth century by platform orators in India in the reform and self-respect movements.

The concept of human brotherhood gained adherence in India not so much on account of

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[30] RHYS-DAVIDS, *Dialogues of the Buddha,* Vol. I, p. 141.

[31] *Anguttara,* I, 162. See MALALASEKARA G P. and K.N. JAYATILLEKE, *Buddhism and the Race Question,* Unesco, 1958.

the universalistic implications of metaphysical postulates, but because faced with the doctrine of *varna* both those who suffered its disabilities as well as those who rebelled at its deficiencies as a social doctrine were compelled to define human rights and human equality. This situation seems to have arisen in Tamil society for its thinkers to reiterate human equality and state that birth equalises all men and that social differences are due to occupations. Jainism and Buddhism which were gaining adherents and the inter-religious tolerance of a Hyde-Park corner kind then obtaining in the Tamil country, were additional factors in the increase of the sense of cosmopolitanism.

The structure of Tamil society was very different from what the brāhminic books on politics and ethics were advocating in other territories. There were no distinctions and disabilities arising from caste divisions, and education and perfectibility were open to all groups. No one was considered a "moving burial ground", and no occupation was considered too low or too manual as to deny to those engaged in it the possibility of advancement in virtue. The poets and poetesses and bards of both sexes who move with kings without losing the common touch, as moralists, counsellors, royal messengers and teachers, come from a great many occupational groups; kings, queens, ministers, landlords, chieftains, astronomers, teachers, arithmeticians, merchants, and actors and blacksmiths. And their literature is a literature of the people, not of an aristocracy or of an élite. There is a unity seen in the cosmos of sentient

and non-sentient being, but that unity is of a naturalistic kind and not the theistic or pantheistic unity of Stoicism.

THE WISE MAN

Stoicism is again noted for hypostatising its ideals of life in the ideal of a Wise Man—the *sapiens*. Various moral and political philosophers, have portrayed the ideal who embodies in himself the spirit and the qualities which they hold desirable for their particular society and age. Thus Plato draws the picture of the philosopher—statesmen in his various dialogues, Aristotle, the picture of the ideal ruler and the ideal citizen, and Confucius the qualities of the chün-tzu.[32] The Stoics more than any other school of western ethics pointed to their ideal, the Wise Man, an ideal, which precisely because it was ideal, embodied a great many virtues, attitudes and dispositions hardly ever to be realised in the one and the same person, an

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[32] WALEY ARTHUR, *The Analects of Confucius*, p. 34 ff. London, 1956.

The Wise Man from India in the person of the yogi has been an attraction in the West ever since the days of Alexander and the ten Yogis whom he interviewed because they had incited a rebellion against him. Plutarch recounts how ten of these gymnosophists gave their characteristic short and pithy answers. The first was asked whether he thought the living or the dead to be the more numerous. He answered "The living for the dead are not." The second was asked "which breeds the largest animals, the sea or the land?". He answered "the land for the sea is only a part of it." The following eight too gave similar answers, and Alexander sent them away with gifts instead of putting them to death. Gymnosophists seem to have been included in the embassies sent to Rome, and the Christian writers like Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria know a little about Brahmins and Gymnosophists and their doctrines and mode of life.

anomaly of which their critics did not hesitate to ridicule them. Though it was held by them that the Wise Man was rare, and Seneca even describes him as rare as the phoenix and honestly disclaims any corresponding character as being verified in his own self, the Stoics of the Roman principate generally affirm the existence of many Wise Men.

The Stoic *sapiens* was to foster a mental calm even in the face of trouble and disaster and crush desires; was generally supposed to be aloof and remote so as not to become immersed in public affairs or civic strife, and instead devote his time to the cultivation of his mind and his virtues. Cicero who is far more precise concerning public and private duties, belongs to an earlier age, and though influenced by Stoicism and had Stoic teachers, does not identify himself as a Stoic.

To Tamil thought more than to any other section of contemporary Indian thought, the ideal of a Wise Man of human proportions with human qualities was fundamental. He may not have any of the thirty-two great marks, or the numerous smaller marks which designate the superman or Mahāpuruṣa of other traditions. He may not be endowed with the physical qualities of the magnanious man of Aristotle. In fact, there is an explicit warning not to confound physical appearance with personality or wisdom though pleasant looks and family upbringing are useful. He was the *sānṟōn*, a word derived from a root signifying fullness and completeness, so that he was not merely the Wise Man or desirable man as implied in the

etymon of *sapiens*, but the *Complete* or *Perfect* man, well made and full of those qualities, intellectual, moral, emotional and aesthetic which signify all-round robust goodness. It is because these complete men exist that the world becomes a livable place; if their greatness were to diminish, the world would cease to exist. One does not acquire grey hairs in a hurry when several such wise men live in one's vicinity.

The Tamil Wise Man is not to be an anchorite or a recluse or a muni like the ideal of the ascetic schools, or live in the world in splendid isolation or in magnificent detachment. He is to live fully his days of courtship and of married life rejoicing in the laughter and the love of his children and of friends. His aim should be the development of individual excellence by a complete dedication to his social and civic duties. In no section of Indian thought does life with a social reference obtain such measured consideration.

Any attempt to describe in brief a personality profile of the Wise or Complete Man of the Tamil books must seem as despairing as summarising the features of the Wise Man of the Stoics, because of the numerous virtues which the Tamil is called upon to exercise in the complex situations of his daily life as a lover, a husband, a parent, a citizen and a friend. The almost unattainable character of the Wise Man could make the Stoics as well as the Tamil philosophers persistent in refusing to accept in concrete anything short of the Ideal in every character placed before them: "No, not that, not that; the one we have dreamed of is fairer

far than that, more magnificent and wonderful. Earth has never seen him, or at best it saw him but for a moment, and he was gone."[33]

ALTRUISM AND CULTURE

Certain individuating characteristics of the Tamil Wise Man refute the pessimism, negativism, and fatalism sometimes attributed to Indian thought in general. The basis of his life should be altruism, that is, informed by the ideal *to live not for self but for others.* He is one who would not consume selfishly and alone even the nectar of immortality. His acquisition of wealth is merely to serve as a means to provide for social and educational opportunities for the less fortunate, to be philanthropic and to acquire the pleasure which comes from hospitality. Even marriage is conceived primarily as a joint partnership which facilitates the joint provision of entertaining friends and strangers and offering a limitless hospitality. His altruistic life is not motivated by "mercenary motives" of rewards possible in another life; even if there were no other life he would have to be benevolent, for it is the right life and the humanism proper to a Wise Man. He must find his "good" and the right in the performance of his duty, and in the concept of justice. Humanism and optimism are two of his important characteristics.

The Stoic and the Tamil agree that in the service of his fellow men they must be prepared to sacrifice their health, their possessions, their lives; to be forgiving to enemies. But there is one thing that the Stoic should never sacrifice,

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[33] BEVAN EDWYN, *Stoics and Sceptics*, op. cit, p. 57 ff.

his own eternal calm. Therefore, pity to the Stoic in the sense of a painful emotion caused by the sight of others suffering is actually a vice. The most a Stoic may do is to feign sympathy, but he must take care not *feel* it. /He may sigh, says Epictetus, provided the sigh does not come from his heart./ The Tamil Wise Man's philosophy of indifference to pain and pleasure and the cultivation of tranquillity in the face of disaster is for personal discipline, but his equanimity is reconciled with sympathy for the sufferer in the Greek and derivative sense. Pity is not only encouraged, but positive and expansive love and benevolence as the fountain of all service is prescribed, and a sincere moistening of the eyes is explained as the indication of true and overwhelming sympathy within. There is a difference between Epictetus and Tiruvaḷḷuvar in their ideals of the Ideal Man.

Albert Schweitzer in surveying the world's ancient literatures for ethical values, was quick to perceive the contribution which Tamil thought had to make by emphasising this ethic of love. Of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, a codex of gnomic verse which epitomises the ethical Tamil thought of this period, he says that its ethics is more advanced than that of Brāhminism, Buddhism, and Bhagvad-gītā Hinduism.

> "Like the Buddha and the Bhagavad-Gītā, the Kural desires inner freedom from the world and a mind free from hatred. Like them it stands for the commandment not to kill and not to damage. It has appropriated all the valuable ethical results of the thought of world and life negation. But in addition to this ethic of inwardness there

appears in the Kural the living ethic of love........... "

"With sure strokes the Kural draws the ideal of simple ethical humanity. On the most varied questions concerning the conduct of man to himself and to the world its utterances are characterised by nobility and sense. There hardly exists in the literature of the world a collection of maxims in which we find so much lofty wisdom."[34]

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[34] *Indian thought and its Development* p. 203, London 1951.

The following are some of the books which will be found helpful in studying the Indian religions and ethics of the period and in the interpretation of the pertinent texts.

ADIKARAM, E.W. *Early history of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Ceylon, 1946 APTE, V.M. *Social and religious life in the Grhyasutras*, Bombay, 1954. BASHAM, A.L *The Wonder that was India*, London, 1961.; BHANDARKAR, R.C. *Vaishnavism, Saivism and other minor religious systems*, Strassburg, 1913, Poona 1928; DUTT, N K. *Origin and growth of caste in India*, Vol. I (C. B.C. 2000—300) London, 1931; DUTT, Sukumar, *Early Buddhist monachism*, 600 B.C.—100 B.C. London, 1924; ELIOT, C. *Hinduism and Buddhism*, re-issue 3 vols. London, 1957, (first published 1921); FICK, *Die sociale Gliederung im Nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddhas zeit*, Kiel, 1897 (English translation by S. MAITRA, *The Social organisation in North-East India in Buddha's time*, University of Calcutta, 1920); FORMICHI, C. *Il pensiero religioso nell' India prima del Buddha*, Bologna, 1925 (French translation by F. HAYWARD revised by author, Paris, 1930); GHURYE, G.S. *Caste and class in India*, Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1950; GUERINOT, A. *La religion Djaina, histoire, culte, coutumes, institutions*. Paris, 1926; HOPKINS, Washburn E. *The religions of India*, Yale, 1895; JOLLY, J. *Hindu law and custom*. Translated by S.K. Das from the German edition of 1896, Calcutta, 1928; OLDENBERG, H. *Ancient India*, Second ed. Chicago, 1898; OLDENBERG, H. *Buddha: Seine Leben, Seine Lehre, Seine Gemeinde* Berlin, 1890. English translation *Buddha: his life, his doctrine His order.*, London, 1892; RENOU, Louis, *Religions of Ancient India*. University of London, 1953; RHYS DAVIDS, T.W. *Buddhism*, London, 1917; RHYS DAVIDS, T.W. *Buddhist India*, London, 1903 (reprint) Bombay, 1955; RHYS DAVIDS, T.W. *Early Buddhism*, London, 1908; SCHUBRING, W. *Die lehre der Jainas*, Leipzig, 1935; trans. *The doctrine of the Jainas*, Banaras, 1962; TUCCI, G.

What the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* embodies is the rationalisation and synthesis of the wisdom and ideals of the earlier Tamil literature which is contemporary with the writings of Seneca, of Epictetus, of Pliny, of Arrian and of Marcus Aurelius. The Stoics agree far more with the Buddhist ideal of ataraxy than with that of the Tamil. The former two tend to a detached intellectualism at the expense of the emotional and the aesthetic life, but in the third, the emotional and aesthetic aspects of personality are important means of self-realisation.

Though altruism is his great ethical characteristic, it is his culture which enables the Tamil Wise Man to develop the marks of gracious living and the sentiments and attitudes which make him a pleasant member of society. While the word sāṉṟōn denotes completeness, the world for culture (*paṇpu*) denotes quality or the effort to obtain quality by constant striving and fertilising, and has the same sense as when Cicero derives culture from agriculture, the *cultores agri*. Culture in Tamil thought is a quality which should be found in the sovereign, in the lover, in the parent and in the child. It includes in its code a humaneness towards all human beings and towards all life, including animals and even plants. Persons endowed even with the sharpest intellects are not cultured but just timber if they

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Il Buddhismo, Foligno, 1926. VALLÈE POUSSIN *Louis de la*, *Le dogme et la philosophie du Buddhisme.* Paris, 1930 (with bibliography) ; VALLEE POUSSIN Louis de la, *La morale Bouddhique*, Paris, 1927; WILLIAMS, W. Monier, *Buddhism and its connection with Brahminism and Hinduism and its contrast with Christianity*, John Murray, London, 1890; WILLIAMS, W. Monier, *Religious thought and life in India*, John Murray, London, 1883; ZAEHNER, R.C. *Hindu and Muslim Mysticism*, London, 1960.

possess not the humane feelings common to common humanity. Familiarity with persons of culture produces increasing joy like that which familiarity with the classics engenders. Culture includes the humanism of interest in man; it includes the tolerance and forbearance of dissentient views with the patience of Mother Earth who sustains and supports, and harms not those who dig, and scope and tunnel her.

To forgive enemies is culture, but to forgive friends is a higher culture. To return good to those who have been bad to you is culture. To be accessible and friendly with the lowly is culture. Culture includes the learning which considers itself inadequate, the service which expects no reward, the greatness which ever is humble, the largeness which forgives, the gentlemanliness which never inflicts pain, the purity of intention and the spotlessness of mind which are born of truth and justice, and the expansiveness which comes of not harbouring petty thoughts resulting in the shrivelling of personality. Culture is fostered by learning, by the critical search for knowledge in books, by association with the learned, by the art of conversation which includes as well the art of listening, by the eloquence which should be able to express lucidly one's subtlest thoughts, and by friendships which provide the opportunity to give and to receive. Culture includes the humanism which enjoys humour and laughter. "To those who are unable to laugh it is pitch dark even amidst the blaze of noon."[35] Culture is fed on ideals—

[35] *Tirukkural* 999. The following books give accounts of Tamil Literature and its characteristics:

the man without ideals is a corpse. Culture, cannot be an ideal which "*only* a Hellenocentric world possesses."

In this comparable period, there is a literature in Tamil on friendship which bears comparison with Cicero, on eloquence with Cicero and Quintilian, on morality with the writings of Seneca, and a love poetry not less interesting than Catullus but much more impersonal and universal in its appeal.

CONCLUSION

These comparisons of Indian thought with Roman Stoicism may be made not only in the domain of ethics but also in several other fields. Three great books of Indian ethical thought illustrate three great traditions, and point to a certain unity as well as diversity within the complex systems which come under Indian thought. They are the *Bhagavaḍ Gītā*, the *Dhammapada*, and the *Tirukkuṛaḷ*; the first theistic and incorporating several traditions, the second representing the "*sramaṇic*" tradition of asceticism and Buddhist in inspiration, and the third humanistic, representative of a poetic tradition, and of a society in which priests and monks have as yet no traditional social functions. These three books are in three different languages,

CASIE-CHITTY, SIMON, *Tamil Plutarch*, Colombo, 1946; JESUDASON, C. & H., *History of Tamil Literature*, Calcutta, 1961; KANAGASABAI PILLAI, V. *The Tamils Eighteen hundred years ago*, Madras, 1904 (reprinted Madras, 1959); SESHA IYENGAR, T.R. *Dravidian India*, Madras, 1925; SIVARAJA PILLAI, K.N. *Chronology of the early Tamils*, Madras, 1932; SRINIVASA IYENGAR, P.T., *History of the Tamils from the earliest times to* 600 A.D., Madras, 1929; TAMBYAH ISAAC, T. *Psalms of a Saiva Saint*, Luzac, London, 1926.

Sānskrit and Pāli and Tamil, and while the two are representative of the Northern traditions in religion and ethics, the third is representative of the Southern tradition.[36]

I believe that what I have said will also indicate that it would be hardly valid to generalize on Indian thought on the basis of any single Indian literature, classical or modern, or on the basis of one single tradition, or region or religion. Literary evidence, both classical and modern, elements Dravidian and Aryan, philosophies of the North and of the South, and the beliefs and values of the masses preserved in popular cults and folk literature, all contribute to our study of Indian thought. This lecture has been mainly concerned with one tradition, and that tradition links up the past and the present through a living language and literature which have maintained an unbroken recorded continuity at least for the last twenty-three centuries, a continuity not verified in the fortunes of many of Tamil's ancient contemporaries. That recorded tradition opens up new perspectives of relevance when connected, as it seems most reasonable to do, with earlier oral traditions and with the Indus Valley Culture and its monuments of the second and third millenia before the Christian era.

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[36] The attempt to trace all Indian thought to Sānskritic sources still persists even among a section of scholars whose knowledge of the Tamil language might suggest a more accurate interpretation. What grounds might Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri have for the following statement made in his mature years: "All these literatures owed a great deal to Sanskrit, the magic wand whose touch alone raised each of the Dravidian languages from the level of a patois to that of a literary idiom" (*A History of South India*, 2nd ed. p. 330).

During its long history, the Tamil tradition has come to include the main currents of Indian religious and philosophical thought, while preserving its identity unchanged by the political upheavals which occurred in the territory north of the Tamil borders. Śaivaism, Vaiṣṇavism, Buddhism, Jainism, Islam, Christianity and Roman Catholicism have all of them great literary works in Tamil. Throughout the larger portion of its history, it has had the advantage of contact with a great classical dead language and a great classical literature in Sānskrit, as Latin had in Greek. Unless the evidence of the Indus Valley, of the *Tolkāppiyam*, of the love and bhakti poetry in Tamil, of the siddhānta philosophy, of the ethical verse, of the epic poetry and of the fine arts and crafts of the South, enter into the syllabuses and studies of Indological research, a more accurate and balanced presentation of Indian thought than that which obtains now will not be possible. It would be true to say, that since the last war, there is a marked decrease in the tendency to build Indological interests on Indo-European language and racial affinities as the sole or main determinants or as inspirational motives. Nor is an indefinable attitude of self-efficiency or an esoteric Boston Brāhminhood now assumed by those who study the Vēdas and the Upaniṣāds. But "the too exclusive examination of India from the Indo-European standpoint" still continues.

The term "Indian Studies" is itself so comprehensive that hardly any University would be able in its teaching and research to cover every field of study which may be included in

the term. Consequently certain fields have necessarily to be selected for special study taking into consideration such facts as the needs of the country and of society, the availability of funds, the demand for such studies, and the contribution that has to be made along with other departments to the implementation of the declared policy of sustaining and fostering the cultures and languages of the component groups of the nation. To scatter energies over a wide field is no help in the slow building up of ordered knowledge, and in the establishing of our own traditions which should supplement and dovetail the work of similar departments in South East Asia and in the world.

In Departments of studies of this kind, there is a tendency to a static antiquarianism and to a conservatism which have to be counterbalanced by a consciousness of the importance of the present and by a vision of the future. Modernization of courses should maintain teaching continually revised, and creative teaching should beware of "inert ideas", that is "ideas which are not tested or utilised or thrown into fresh combinations." Extending the frontiers of knowledge, a phrase which reveals the adventure and the joy of discovery incidental to University research in an atmosphere of academic freedom, is a vital function of a University. A Department of Indian Studies with specialist courses in Tamil Studies, (and Tamil studies to include courses in Dravidology and Sānskrit), should be able to restore to Indology some of the equipoise it needs, and exploit the possibilities of new discoveries and approaches available to Indian

Studies in South East Asia. We cannot just afford to continue repeating what Coedés and Krom and Stutterheim and Windstet have stated. There are considerable new areas which remain to be studied, and these require in a Department both the energy and enthusiasm of youth as well as the breadth and depth and the richness and ripeness which comes with experience and the years.

New areas exist in the interpretation available to Indian Studies by the close collaboration possible in this University with Malay, Islamic and Chinese Studies. New areas exist for Indian Studies as defined in this University, in the history and culture of Malaya, in Sumatra, in the Dieng Plateau of Java and in Bali, amid the ruins of Mison and Po-Nagar and in Oc-eo in Vietnam, in Angkor Vat and Angkor Thom in Cambodia, and in the speech and literature and the monuments of Thailand. We might even go further in this adventure and study Chinese thought and literature and uncover sources and similarities yet unknown, or travel further North to find resemblances with the *tanka* in Japanese poetry and with Zen Buddhism. The scope is great and the opportunities are many. Let us hope and trust that this University will be rich in the utilisation of these opportunities while fulfilling its role as a centre of learning in South East Asia.*

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* Inaugural lecture delivered at the University of Malaya on Dec. 14, 1962.

A Few Notes on Colloquial Tamil

KAMIL ZVELEBIL

0. The actual state of affairs in any community of language is always much more diverse and complicated than our description may reflect. Let us take the major languages of India: all of them have regional dialects as well as dialects which are in correlation with differences in social position; all of them have special literary forms of language which differ more or less from the colloquial forms.[1]

1·1. In this very short contribution I should like to outline very generally the state of affairs in Tamil[2] and to indicate the direction of future research in this field.

1·2. First of all, we must answer (and the answer should be yes–or–no) the question whether there exists, in Tamil, a form which may be

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[1] There are a few papers which deal with these problems generally or with reference to India as a whole, cf. C. A. Ferguson, Diglossia, Word 15·2, 1959 or Linguistic Diversity in South Asia, Introduction by Charles A. Ferguson, IJAL 26·3, 1960.

[2] A few papers deal with these matters as far as Tamil is concerned: Kamil Zvelebil, Dialects of Tamil II, ArOr 27, 1959, pp. 572–603, M. S. Andronov, Razgovornyje for my tamil' skogo glagola, Colloquial forms of Tamil verb, Kratkije soobščenija Instituta vostokovedenija XXIX, Moskva 1959, pp. 16–26, M. Shanmugam Pillai, Tamil–Literary and Colloquial, IJAL 26·3, 1960, pp. 27–42, further R. P. Sethu Pillai, Tamil–Literary and Colloquial 60 pp., and M. S. Andronov, Razgovornyje tamil' skij jazyk i ego dialekty, The colloquial Tamil speech and its dialects, shortly to be published, K. Zvelebil, On Finite Verb Terminations in Colloquial Tamil, to be published in ArOr 1962/4 and Vowels of Colloquial Tamil, to be published in ArOr 1963/1.

called a colloquial standard. Do there exist, in Tamil, two varieties of the language, side by side, in the idiolect of one speaker, through the community as a whole, with each having a definite role to play? The answer to this question should be, according to my conviction, affirmative. On the one hand, there is a literary Tamil used for writing and formal speaking (which may be called Standard Literary Tamil, or *platform speech*) and, on the other hand, a type of speech used in ordinary informal conversation by educated Tamilians when talking to the members of their families, to their friends, and generally to persons of the same social standing and the same level of education, a *common speech*.

This does not, however, answer one important point in our original question, namely, whether this colloquial form, this common speech, is a standard. Let us examine some of the features of this common speech in detail: whereas, in the literary form, there is a large body of literature going back about 2000 years and regarded very highly by all Tamil speakers today, there is practically no literature in the colloquial form (this feature being strikingly different from colloquial Bengali, the *calit bhāṣā*, in which the most distinguished Bengali poets and prosaists do write); literary Tamil has prestige, the colloquial has not; literary Tamil is superposed and learned in the schools, colloquial Tamil is learned naturally, either as primary at home, or later in daily communication, if the speaker speaks a local dialect. Between the literary standard and the colloquial form there are striking differences in phonology, grammar and even in lexicon. When we compare

the forms (e.g. finite verb forms) used by speakers of local (or social) dialects with the forms used in this superposed colloquial we may discover very soon that there are striking differences between the two; naturally, the forms used by some dialects are nearer to those used in this colloquial, common speech, whereas forms of other dialects are more different. This shows that a kind of standard colloquial speech *has arisen* and *does exist,* and the speakers of substandard, local dialects, imitate this standard and learn it, often, as a superposed standard colloquial. This superposed standard tends to spread, remaining, however, for the time being, limited to the functions appropriate for any "low" variety. Now, the question remains, on what kind of speech this Tamil superposed standard colloquial is based?

1·3. Comparisons with quite a number of forms used by the speakers of different local and social dialects shows, that this Tamil colloquial *standard* is based on the speech of *middle-class non-Brahmin* (especially *veḷḷāḷa*) *population of a few important communication centres,* especially of *Madurai, Tiruchirappalli* and *Madras.* If we ask which local dialect may have served as the most copious source for the origin of this superposed standard colloquial Tamil, I believe we may point to the central Tamil area, that is forms of Tamil spoken between Madurai (and in Madurai) in the south-west and South Arcot in the north-east (including Tiruchirappalli and Tanjore).

1·4. It is most important to stress one fact: this colloquial standard is undoubtedly the nucleus and the base of the future full-fledged standard national Tamil language.

It cannot be denied that this colloquial standard gains more and more prestige, though there are some opposite directions to be accounted for too. This form gains steadily, though slowly, ground; it is a progressive form in full swing of its development; it has already entered the movies and the broadcast; its lexicon has invaded newspapers; sporadically, it is being used even in literature.

Scholars all over the world are aware of this fact. In the U.S.S.R., they dedicate much of their time and attention to the investigation of this colloquial form (especially M.S. Andronov). In the USA, they stress that the approach to important South Indian languages (and Tamil is being considered as one of the most important) "should be through the spoken language before the written." In India, some scholars (notably M. Shanmugam Pillai) devote much of their energy to careful investigation of this colloquial standard.

No wonder that it is so: it is a good thing to help when a national language is being born; it is imperative to investigate, analyse and describe the process of this birth and growth, and also to fight against all attempts to check this growth which is legitimate, progressive and in accordance with the objective development of the language as a whole.

The following are the chief reasons why the present colloquial standard (partly, naturally, reshaped and further developed under the simultaneous influence of the Literary Standard and, may be, also of the local dialects) will finally be adopted by the Tamils as their national language: First, by its adoption the educational problem will be immensely simplified since,

as already said, most people acquire a basic knowledge of this form "naturally" in their childhood or as a spoken superposed variety, whereas the Literary standard must be learned (often by a laborious and wearisome process) "artificially"; second, the colloquial becomes more and more a most effective instrument of communication at all social levels and on the entire Tamil-speaking territory (at least in continental Tamil India); third, it is the outcome of an inherent historical evolution of the language as a whole, and of the community which speaks the language; fourth, "it is closer to the real thinking and feeling of the people" (C. A. Ferguson).

Analogy with other speech-communities proves beyond doubt that the Tamil-speaking community cannot be an exception to the general, objective development. Though this situation may last a long time (and it has lasted, in Tamil, a number of centuries), it cannot last for ever; the literary form finally becomes a learned or liturgical language, studied by priests or scholars, and not used actively by the community (cf. the case of Latin, Old Church Slavonic, Pali etc.) The standard colloquial (usually a mixed variety based on a local dialect) becomes the national language, used actively by the community and written in literature (cf. the *calit bhāṣā* of Bengali).

1·5. The standard colloquial Tamil is different both from the local, territorial dialects, and from the social dialects; in terms of the development of the community, the local and the social dialects reflect the feudal past of the community, its horizontal and vertical diversity prevalent during feudal times. This standard colloquial is,

however, different also from the *koccai* (in its narrow sense), that is from the slangs and argots, the real "vulgar" speech of some strata of the uneducated urban population. We may indicate the levels of Tamil by the following diagram:

unit-term	in speech	in writing	based on (past)	developing into (future)
1. SLT Standard Literary Tamil	platform speech; used on formal occasions, in schools, news-broadcast, on stage	contemporary creative and technical literature	centamil	learned language, studied by scholars and specialists
2. SCT Standard Colloquial Tamil	common speech, ordinary informal conversation of educated Tamils, in AIR, films, occasions on stage	sporadically in modern creative writing	non-Brahmin middle-class speech of towns in central Tamil area plus Madras	overall national Tamil language
3. Local Dialects (*patois*)	folk speech, local dialects used by masses in rural areas and uneducated strata of urban population; occasionally in films and on stage	occasionally in creative writing for characterization and comic effect	dialect splitting of the past	unification and levelling (under simultaneous possible origin of new dialects)

This trichotomous division is criss-crossed by the division into a number of social dialects (or, caste-dialects), the main dichotomy being Brahman vs. non-Brahman speech, further by different kinds of slangs and argots as well as residues of tribal dialects. The Brahman vs. non-Brahman dichotomy is presently somewhat sharpened and the gulf between the two may widen on account of such cultural and political activities as the *taṉittamiḻ* movement, the activities of the DK and DMK etc.

2·1. In Bengali, a form analogical to the Tamil colloquial standard, the *calit bhāṣā,* has already entered literature with full support of such great men as Rabindranath Tagore and P. Chaudhuri. Colloquial Tamil, just as the *calit bhāṣā*, is fully adequate for all purposes of creative as well as technical literature, more than the Literary Standard itself, since it can freely and unscrupulously imbibe loans from different languages of the world and easily coin new terms itself. Some Tamil authors, notably the realists and the "progressive" authors, have advanced in the matter of adopting an approximation to the colloquial standards in their writings. Therefore, the investigation of the reflections of the colloquial language in contemporary Tamil prose should form an important part of the analysis and description of colloquial Tamil, together with the analysis of the possibilities how to employ standard Tamil orthography for the colloquial form of the language. Those authors who employ in their writings colloquial forms, have tried to solve this

matter, giving approximations to the colloquial pronunciation by current Tamil graphemes.[3]

2·2. The very existence of the colloquial form is denied by many speakers though they themselves use the colloquial constantly. These speakers, who, consciously and/or unconsciously, regard Literary Tamil as much superior to colloquial Tamil (in a number of respects) and speak about the colloquial (after they have reluctantly admitted its existence) as about a "vulgar, corrupt" etc. form, would, themselves, never dream of using the literary standard when speaking to their wives or children or friends, knowing well that they would become an object of ridicule. In a particular set of situations, only colloquial standard is appropriate, and vice versa.

Ferguson aptly described the attitude of those speakers who deny the very existence of a colloquial form, as a sort of self-deception. There is of course nothing "vulgar", nothing "corrupt" or "indecent" about the colloquial standard. It has been stressed several times that this colloquial standard is the language of the *educated* strata of Tamil population, and that it is *different*, both in phonology and vocabulary, from the really "vulgar" slangs and argots.[4] The attitude which

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[3] Cf. e.g. in one of the short stories by D. Jeeva we may read பயங் for CT (phonemic) payen, boy, or சம்பளங் for CT (phonemic) čampaḷon, wages.

[4] The true *koccai* may be heard, e.g., in the speech of riksha-drivers in Madras (ரிக்ஷாக்காரன் பாஷை). Between the colloquial standard and the *koccai* there are many differences; leaving apart the obvious differences in vocabulary, I may just touch on some phonological differences; thus, e.g. the Madras koccai has vauγu (vʌuγω), belly, versus colloquial vayγω (vʌiṟm), or maven (mʌvɛ̃), son, versus coll. maken (mʌγɛ̃),

denies to the colloquial standard its rights is very unreasonable: first, it is contrary to the objective and necessary development which will have its way, and, second, it is contrary to the today prevailing desire of the Tamils to have a full-fledged standard national language as an attribute of their autonomy. Standard Literary Tamil can never become such a national language: its evolution has come to a standstill long ago, it is non-productive, it has no inherent possibilities of inner development, it is not understood by the masses of the people, it cannot be accepted as an effective instrument of communication on all levels, it does not reflect, today, the real thinking and feeling of the people.

3. It has already been said that literary and colloquial forms (apart from local and social dialects) existed side by side, in Tamil, for a considerable period of time. Perhaps in the very deep past itself, during the time of *Tolkāppiyanār* (4th–3rd Cent. B.C.), such or similar differences, or at last the fundamental trichotomy, had existed; cf. the terms *centamiḻ*, or *ceyyuḷ*—literary language, versus *vaḻakku*—common colloquial speech, and *ticai*—local dialects.

One thing is beyond any doubt: the language of earliest Tamil inscriptions differs in some features from the language of contemporary literature, and the differences are of such nature that we are entitled to suggest that this epigraphical language reflects the spoken language of the time; cf., only at random, such forms as *arecaru* (Vallam Inscription), king, where the *-e-* and the final *-u* clearly show the influence of the colloquial upon the orthography of this Pallava ins-

cription; or *konole* (Kāśakudi inscription of Nandivarman II), the edict of the king, for Standard Literary *kōṉōlai,* or *ceyivitta* (again Vallam Inscription) for SLT *ceyvitta,* also a colloquial form.

The study of inscriptional Tamil as well as ancient literature (e.g. the works of the *siddhars*) from this point of view of reflections of the colloquial language should form a very important part of the complex investigation of spoken Tamil.

4. The phonological changes of spoken Tamil result in a new phonological system of the language which is much nearer to the other two great languages of the South Dravidian group, i.e. Malayalam and Kannada. In other words, contemporary colloquial Tamil is much nearer to Kannada and Malayalam than contemporary literary Tamil (which shows, on the other hand, that standard literary Tamil has preserved many older forms). This might be demonstrated on a great number of instances; only at random I may quote Mal. *aḍiccu,* having beaten etc., cf. with SLT *aṭittu,* id., SCT *aṭiccu*; or SLT *akappai,* ladle SCT *a:pe,* id., Kannada *āpe.* For anyone who knows Malayalam, Kannada and colloquial Tamil and compares the three with Standard Literary Tamil, this thing becomes at once quite self-evident. However, it has its political and cultural aspects also; the adoption of colloquial Tamil as a national standard will serve—since it is much nearer to Malayalam and Kannada—for better understanding among the great Dravidian nations and will strengthen the political and cultural ties among them.

5. I should like to close this paper with a few terminological remarks, which will concern the T a m i l terms of the items discussed in the paper.

5·1. The l i t e r a r y superposed variety, the standard literary Tamil based on *centamil*, may be called (as it usually is called) இலக்கியத் தமிழ் or இலக்கிய வழக்கு; when dealing with this language as a spoken form, we may call it மேடைப் பேச்சு or செப்பமான மொழி.

5·2. Substandard d i a l e c t s generally may be called வட்டார மொழிகள் or பாமர மொழிகள்; they may be subdivided into local and regional dialects, in Tamil திசை வழக்கு and பிரதேச வழக்கு (e.g.) தூத்துக்குடித் திசை வழக்கு, the local dialects of Tuticorin, and தமிழ்த் தென்பிரதேச வழக்கு, Southern Dialects of Tamil, social dialects, in Tamil கிளை மொழிகள் or சாதி வழக்கு, tribal dialects, in Tamil குடிகள் மொழிகள், and, finally, slangs and argots, together கொச்சை.

5·3. The Standard C o l l o q u i a l Tamil may be called, in analogy with *ilakkiyattamil* and *ialkkiyavalakku* பேச்சுத் தமிழ் or பேச்சு வழக்கு; however, I would suggest for this type of language the term பொதுப்பேச்சுத் தமிழ் or, simply, பொதுத் தமிழ், "the common Tamil", where பொது, "common", means a language which is the c o m m o n p r o p e r t y of all strata of the Tamil-speaking community and which will ultimately become a standard national Tamil language (தமிழ் நாட்டுச் செப்பமான பொது மொழி).

Ophir of the Bible—Identification

P. JOSEPH

When Solomon sent out his now famous expedition to Ophir, he could hardly have realised that his one attempt at giving his erstwhile land-locked state a maritime bias, with expert Phoenician nautical aid, was destined to arouse many a controversy among scholars several centuries later. Nor could the biblical writer, who narrated the incident, have dreamt that his pithy half a dozen verses[1] would turn out to be the happy hunting ground, during dozens of decades, of scores of savants trying to locate the destination of Solomon's sailors.

The ancient scribe, when referring to Ophir, saw no reason to enter into an elaborate elucidation of its whereabouts. Famed for its commerce, it was surely well known to his contemporaries. Places, however, have changed names, some a number of times, down the ages. Lacunae, moreover, have crept into the copies and translations of the Bible and there are no means of checking on them, as, meanwhile, the original apparently failed to survive the ravages of time. Hence the present plethora of theories on Ophir's identity.

Scholars have scoured the wide world for Solomon's Ophir and advanced the claims of such far-flung areas as Malaya, Ceylon, Arabia, East Africa, Somaliland, North Africa, Armenia, Spain, the West Indies and Peru. But the burden of opinion favours India, and that too Dravidian India, especially because some of the products, taken home by the expedition, namely timber[2] (botanically *chickrassia*

1 III *Kings*, IX, 26 - 28 ; X, 11, 22 ; II *Chronicles*. VIII, 17 - 18 ; IX, 10, 21.

2 Joseph "Algummim or Almuggim of the Bible," *Tamil Culture* VI, 2, pp. 133 - 138 ;

tabularis), apes and peacocks[3] as well as ivory[4] bear Hebrew names unmistakably derived from Dravidian roots. Other items like gold, silver and precious stones, though not known in Hebrew by typical Indian names, went with the rest to decorate God's temple and adorn the king's palace and throne.

That the several references to the lavish use of precious metals and stones in ancient Indian literature, supported by Greek and Roman classical evidence, were no exaggeration has been amply proved by geological and other specialist studies. They have shown that, while several deposits had been fully exploited, many were abandoned half-worked and some left untouched, though known. The inference is irresistible that, whereas India was one of the largest suppliers of gold[5] and silver,[6] she was in antiquity the sole exporter of the vast majority of precious stones[7] to the west.

In India several places have been bestowed the honour of having received Solomon's men. One of them is Uvari, now a small fishing village near the mouth of the Tamiraparani river.[8] Its situation near Korkei, the Pandyan metropolis till the 9th. century B.C., when the capital was changed to Madurai, is significant. Etymologically Uvari is salt or salt-sea and could mean a port,—the port of Korkei, in much the same way as Ostia is the port of Rome. The antiquity of Korkei is attested by the epics. The Ramayana and the Mahabharata speak of pearls produced in the Tamiraparani and Kavata of the Pandyas. It had also an ancient conch industry.[9] These considerations must have led Dr. Caldwell

3 *Id.*, "Romance of Two-Tamil Words," *Tamil Culture*, VIII, 3, pp. 201 - 207;

4 *Id.*, "Indian Ivory for Solomon's Throne," *Tamil Culture*, IX, 3, pp. 271 - 280.

5 Ball, "A Geologist's Contribution to the History of Ancient India," *Indian Antiquary*, XIII, p. 229.

6 *Id.*, XXII, p. 232.

7 Watt, *The Commercial Products of India*, pp. 555-563; Newbold, "*Summary of the Geology of Southern India*," J.R.A.S. (old series), IX, 1846; King, *Antique Gems: Their Origin, Uses and Value*.

8 Pandit Savariroyan, "The Bharata Land or Dravidian India," *Tamilian Antiquary*, No. 1, p. 22, note.

9 Pate, *Gazetteer of the Tinnelvelly District*, pp. 235-236.

to conduct small trial excavations at the site. While urn burials, akin to those at Perumbair and Adichchanallur, were discovered, Dr. Caldwell found the geology of the place quite interesting and concluded that the delta must have been inhabited at least for the past 2500 years.[10]

The very reasons, however, that prove the region's antiquity, namely, its pearl and conch industries, seem to militate against the identification of Uvari with Ophir, for, had the Hebrews gone there, they would certainly have taken pearls and conch-shells with them. But these are conspicuous by their absence in the list of merchandise. To fall back on the notoriously migratory tendencies of the Mannar Gulf pearl mussel[11] and, to a lesser degree, of the conch to explain their omission in the biblical narrative would certainly not do, since their disappearance in Solomon's time is beyond proof.

One writer has staked the claim of another Uvari,[12] a fishing village, supposedly six miles off Kanya Kumari but actually 26 miles away. It is now one of the fish-yards of the Tirunelveli district. In support of its antiquity has been cited the existence of an old stone temple, which still attracts pilgrims from all around. When rain, it has been stated, washes down the huge sand-dunes of the place, people still pick up bits of gold,—one of the important products taken by the Ophir expedition. The antiquity, however, of the temple is doubtful; equally doubtful is the capacity of the region to have yielded gold worth 420 (£ 1,600,000) or 450 (£ 1,800,000) talents, mentioned in the Bible.

Most scholars who favour an Indian locale for Ophir are agreed that it was on the western coast. Some of them,

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10 Caldwell, "Explorations at Korkei and Kayal," *Indian Antiquary*. VI, p. 81. The recent find of microliths embedded in the nearby fossil sand-dunes has pushed back the date well into the 4th. millennium B.C. cf Zenner and Allchin, "Microlithic Sites of Tinnevelly," *Ancient India*, No. 12, pp. 4-20.

11 Tennent, *Ceylon*, II, pp. 560-561.

12 Thomas, "From Madura to Cape Comorin," *The Madras Christian College Magazine*, VII, pp. 675-676.

however, like Caldwell,[13] who quotes with approval Grant Duff, who in his turn records Ernest Renan's view, do not pin-point any particular place.

Among the specified localities may be noted Beypore.[14] While there is no resemblance in sound between the words Ophir and Beypore, some other similarity has been pressed into service. The country around Beypore has always been known as Ernad (the land of bullocks). In Sanskrit literature a region in western India was referred to as Abhira (the land of cowherds). From Abhira to Ophir is an easy transition.

The region surrounding Beypore could probably have produced the considerable quantity of gold mentioned in the Bible. Beypore lies at the mouth of the river of the same name. Its local appellation, *ponna pula* (gold river), is very significant. It washes down appreciable amounts of gold dust, while draining the south-eastern slope of Wynad, well known for its auriferous quarts formations.

Beypore's antiquity could be inferred from its proximity to Chataparamba, remarkable for its ancient stone monuments, widespread in South India. The people call them *Kode Kallu* (umbrella stone), a local variant on the general theme of structures, loosely styled dolmens.

There is a Jewish colony near Beypore and merits, no doubt, more than passing attention. The colonists' tradition goes back definitely to the time of Cyrus, the Persian monarch, who, in the 6th. century B.C. delivered the Jews from the Babylonian bondage. The original colonists, it has been surmised, were some of Solomon's sailors, who preferred the fertile land of Ophir to the comparatively arid wastes of Palestine. This first settlement, it has been affirmed, must have received periodical reinforcements ; one such was the band of refugees who, instead of trekking across the desert

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13 Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, p. 117, note.

14 Logan, *Manual of the Malabar District*, p. 248.

to Judaea from Babylon in the 6th. century B.C., took the boat to India.

The Beypore-Ophir equation, however, appears far-fetched. While there is no obvious likeness beween names, the attempt at calling in the aid of *abhira* to span the gap is too tortuous to be convincing. There is no evidence at all in local tradition that Ernad was called Abhira—a Sanskrit name. Small wonder, hence, that, while many have identified Abhira with some stretch of land in western India, none has gone in search of it as far south as Beypore. Granted, for argument's sake, that Ernad was known by the Sanskrit name, Abhira, it could not have been in Solomon's time, i.e. 10th. century B.C., for Aryan penetration that far into peninsular India had not taken place so early. Then again, *kode kallu* on present data goes only as far back as about three or four centuries B.C. Furthermore, to imply that the memories of the Jewish settlers around Beypore are short is unwarranted in the context of lack of contrary evidence.

Reland has put forward the case of Goa[15] as Solomon's Ophir. No worthwhile arguments have, however, been advanced. The theory itself has been based on two mistaken connections, one between Ptolemy's Gaoris river and Goa[16] and the other between Gaoris and Ophir.[17] None else supports this identification.

Several have canvassed vigorously the claim of Abhira as Ophir. But Abhira's location is none too precise ; the name has been given to a number of regions from the Indus mouth to north Konkan.[18] One of the protagonists has even tried to pick out a port of call in this indefinite expanse, namely, Barbaricum at Indus mouth.[19]

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15 Relandus, *Dissertationes Miscellaneae*, Pt I, pp 171, 174.

16 *Bombay Gazetteer*, XIV, p 318, note 2.

17 cf Ritter, *Erdkunde Asien*, VIII, Pt II, p 386 ; Jahn, *Hebrew Commonwealth*, p. 517

18 cf. Krishnaswami Iyengar, *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*, pp. 322-323 ; Mazumdar, *Hindu History*, pp. 28, 33 ; Chandorkar, "Khandesh and its Language," *Bharata Itihasa Samsodaka Mandala*, VII, p. 153.

19 Rawlinson, *Indian Historical Studies*, pp. 194-195.

From when was any portion of western India known by the Sanskrit name Abhira ? An etymological enquiry should help. While the word means the country of cowherds, the two derivations suggested, however we might twist them, do not bear it out : (1) *a* = around, *bhi* = fear, *ra* = give ; (2) *abhi* = near, *ra* = to let go.[20] But in Prakrit we get the word *ahir*, meaning cowherds. The Prakrits had more than a sprinkling of Dravidian words and *ahir* was certainly one of them,—*a* = cow, *ir*—plural termination (the aspirate is unknown in Dravidian). When *abhira* came into vogue, the ancient meaning was apparently remembered, but later commentators overlooked the original content of the root *a*, may be, because it was foreign to Sanskrit. Anyway, the non-occurrence of the word *abhira* in Vedic Sanskrit and its initial appearance in the classical Sanskrit of Mahabharata is instructive ; the word is not older than the epic period. What stretch of the western sub-continent was called Abhira in the 10th. century B.C. is difficult to decide. Of one thing we may be practically sure ; neither Kathiawar nor north Konkan could have had that appellation. Aryan penetration, as pointed out later,[21] had started in these parts only towards the end of the 2nd. millennium B.C. Enough time must be allowed for the development of local Prakrits, in whose vocabulary *ahir* would have figured, and for the coining and entry of the word Abhira into classical Sanskrit, which itself evolved out of the Prakrits.

The main drawback of all the foregoing theories is that they have tried to equate with Ophir some place bearing a similar name. Ophir, however, was not the original name of the destination of Solomon's mercantile marine but Sophir. This name appears in the oldest extant version of the Bible, i.e. the Greek or Septuagint. It was compiled in c. 280 B.C. and had for source an older Hebrew redaction, which unfortunately was lost subsequently. The current Hebrew version, later than the Greek, was the first to mistakenly introduce Ophir in place of Sophir and the Latin Vulgate, that copied

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20 *Amarakosha*, p. 322.
21 *Vide infra*, pp. 20.

it, perpetuated the error. The correct tradition, however, regarding Sophir was not lost. The Coptic and Arabic[22] versions of the Bible held on to it. The eminent Jewish historian, Flavius Josephus, clarified it in his monumental work on the history of the Jews.[23] All the Greek[24] and some Latin[25] Fathers of the early Christian church elaborated it. A few profane writers[26] too helped preserve it.

That the Greeks kept the Hebrew tradition more intact than the Latins can never be overstressed. Of all the alien cultures with which the Hebrews came in contact during their long history the Greek, perhaps, influenced them most. Unlike the preceeding Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians and Persians and the succeeding Romans, the Greeks painstakingly introduced their culture into the lands they conquered and beyond. Hellenization of the then known world was a dogma with them and they deliberately spread it not by a blatant scheme of one-sided brain-washing but a subtle process of give and take. It got off, as far as the Jews went, to an auspicious start, when, on entering Jerusalam in 333 B.C., Alexander granted them autonomy both in Judaea and Babylonia and invited them to found a colony in the new Egyptian city founded by him,—Alexandria. It, hence, outlasted even the persecution campaigns, subsequently let loose by the Syrian Seleucids. This hellenizing process continued uninterrupted into the days of the Roman imperium, for, as the poet said, *Graecia capta ferum victorem coepit et artes intulit agresti Latic* : " conquered Greece took the ferocious victor captive and introduced the arts into rustic Latium. "

The Jewish sect most affected by the Greek influence was that of the Sadducees, who controlled the priesthood of

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22 cf. Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta*, III, pp. 455-457 ; IV, *Esaias*, p. 37.

23 Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Bk. VIII, c. VI, 4.

24 Basilius, *Commentarium in Isaiam Prophetam*, XIII, 12, see in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, *XXX*, col. 592 ; Procopius, *Commentarium in Isaiam Prophetam*, *XIII*, *12*, see in Migne, *op. cit.*, *LXXXVII*, Pt. II, Col. 2084.

25 Hieronymus, *Expositio Interlinearis in Librum Job*, see in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, XXIII, col. 1428; *Opera Sancti Hieronymi*, *Edit*, Vallarsi, III, pp. 130, 258, 275, see in Migne, *op. cit.*, XXIII, cols. 915, 922.

26 *Glossae Sacrae Heschii Graecae*, Edit. Ernesti, 1785, p. 250.

the Jerusalem temple and migrated all over the Greek world in search of not only wealth but also knowledge, unorthodox by normal Jewish standards. The traffic, however, was not one-way. Whereas the arrogant Roman despised things Hebraeic, the ever-enquiring Greek took a deep interest in them. Thus came about, for instance, the Greek translation at Alexandria, on Ptolemy's initiative, of the Hebrew scriptures, the Septuagint Bible, which became extremely popular with the Greek Fathers of the christian church. Thus also was assured the continuity between the Hebrew and Greek tradition. Hence, the high degree of reliability of the Septuagint and also of Josephus,—Hebrew by birth and Greek by culture,—in the matter of elucidation of obscure points, as e.g. that of Ophir.

Incidentally, to ask why the Greeks and the Latins, both of Aryan stock, reacted so differently to eastern influences seems worthwhile. The answer apparently lies in the difference of environment, geographical and historial. The Greeks, straddling, like the two-faced Roman god, Janus,—he could have more appropriately been a Greek god,—on the threshold to Europe, were better placed than the Latins farther west to drink deep at the fountain of oriental thought before passing it on to the other side. Moreover, the pre-Aryan Mediterranean cultures of Greece and Italy could not have affected in an equal manner the Aryan hordes that overran them. The farther removed from its eastern source a particular branch of Mediterranean culture was, the less virile it seems to have been. And so, the Achaeans and even the more barbarous Dorians after them were better schooled in the arts of peace by the Minoans and Mycenaeans than the Latins were by the Etruscans. The outcome ; whereas the Greek always had his face turned eastward, the thorougly extroverted Roman had little patience with the introverted oriental but looked rather towards the west, where he apparently found himself more at home.

To get back to the Ophir problem, two countries of the ancient world seem to have helped the Greeks carry on the

correct Hebrew tradition[27] and both had cultural and commercial contacts with India. The first was Phoenicia, the very country that had sent Solomon ships and sailors for the Ophir expedition and that must have passed on to the dominant Greeks information regarding its own maritime prowess in the palmy days of its illustrious ruler, Hiram, Solomon's contemporary and collaborator. Another country was Egypt, that had provided a heaven to the declining European Greek power, so that the latter could revive in the east the resplendent glories of the memorable Indian trade, a glimpse of which had been given it by the Phoenicians, it had supplanted, and which had lain almost dormant ever since Alexander's conquest of Tyre.

Since Hebrew tradition, as perpetuated in full by the Greeks and in part by the Latins, points to Sophir as the venue of the Judaeo-Phoenician mercantile marine, we must obviously look for a place with a name, that could be turned to Sophir in Hebrew mouths. In Sanskrit literature, both epic and puranic, a region called Sauvira or Sovira is mentioned. It has been variously identified. According to some it was situated between the Indus and the Jhelum and hence known as Sindhu-Sovira.[28] In the Markandeya Purana Sindhu and Sovira are said to have been located in northern India along with Gandhara, Madra, etc.[29] Rapson says the two parts of the compound word were used separately to denote the same region. i.e. Sind.[30] Alberuni identifies Sovira with Multan and Jharawar.[31] Rhys Davids would have it in northern Kathiawar along the gulf of Kach[32] ; he seems to rely on puranic evidence.[33] Cunningham thinks it was the district of Eder in Gujarat at the head of the gulf of Cambay.[34]

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27 For Phoenician contacts *vide infra* pp. 22, 25-26 for Egyptian contacts cf. Heras, *Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture, Vol.* I, ch. III.

28 *Mahabharata, Bhisma Parva,* c. IX, v. 53.

29 *Markandaya Purana,* p. 315.

30 Rapson, *Ancient India,* p. 168.

31 Sachau, *Alberuni's India,* I, pp. 300, 302.

32 cf. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India,* map facing p. 320.

33 *Bhagavata Purana,* Bk. I, C. X, v. 35.

34 Cunningham Mazumdar, *Ancient Geography of India,* pp. 570-572, 642-643.

Sovira, the foregoing identifications show, was seemingly more than one region from the Indus to north Konkan. Abhira too, it is interesting to note, was roughly in the same area. One is, therefore, constrained to admit that much of what was one was the other too. The protagonists, however, of the various theories regarding Abhira and Sovira always distinguished between the two.

Other points that emerge from the many identifications of Sovira are that the name referred mostly to a coastal region with a sizable hinterland and also that it indicated different localities at different times. Would it be possible to fix its limits during Solomon's time, i.e. 10th. cen. B.C. ?

From the 20th. to the 3rd. cen. B.C., when the historical period began, Indian pre-history was enveloped in the so-called Dark Age. A little gleam was, however, cast, around the 6th cen. B.C. with the advent of the culture represented by the northern black polished ware, widespread in northern India and gradually extending into the peninsula. Circumstantial evidence, gathered from political conditions in west-Asia and affinities between west-Asian and Indian material equipment, corroborated by Vedic and subsequent literature, point to Aryan inroads into India,[35] destruction of Harappa civili-

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35 Wheeler, who pioneered the archaeological evidence for the Aryan invasion mainly on the strength of cemetery H ware, now attributes Harappa's end mainly to recurring floods and desiccation (*Early Indio and Pakistan*, pp. 112-113). The change is due to debris layer intervening the Harappa and cemetery H cultures not only at the west gate and associated terraces of the Harappa citadel but also in the cemetery area, as shown by the trench stratigraphically connecting R. 37 (Harrapan) and H cemeteries (Lal, "Excavations at Hastinapura," *Ancient India*, Nos. 10 and 11, p. 151 n. 1.). In Vats' earlier excavations, however, cemetery H ware turned up mixed with normal Harappan pottery (Sastri, *New Light on the Indus Civilisation*, Vol. I, p. 74), indicating that the new-comers' habitation at the west gate (and burials in cemetery H) was later than elsewhere on the mound. Anyway, as stressed by Piggott (*Prehistoric India*, pp. 220, 226), what gave away the foreigners' presence in the Indus valley were not so much the clumsy-to-carry and, hence, local-made, though alien-inspired, pots and pans as their association with the easily portable shaft-hole axe, mid-ribbed spear and sword as also strangely designed seals, amulets and beads,—all bearing an unmistakable west-Asian stamp and unknown in India earlier. Their occurrence at e.g. Chanhu-daro and Mohenjo-daro cannot be due to normal trade, as they were found with squatters' dwellings' exotic pottery, huddled skeletons and tool-and-jewellery hoards—obvious signs of raid and insecurity. The ceramic evidence may by itself be non-committal but the rest cannot be explained away, much less ignored.

sation in the Indus valley, the foreigners' advance to the Gangetic basin and settlement in the northern plains during the Dark Age.[36] The period, therefore, of roughly 1500 years from 2000 B.C. could hardly have been conducive to peaceful trade in the Indus valley or its immediate neighbourhood, and Sovira, hence, could not have been in that area in Solomon's time.

Elsewhere, however, e.g. in Kathiawar[37]—Gujarat conditions were different. As attested by the archaeological remains of nearly fifty sites like Lothal,[38] Rangpur,[39] Rojdi,[40] Somnath,[41] Prabhas. Patan,[42] Pithadia,[43] Megham,[44] Telod,[45] Bhagatrav,[46] Hasanpur[47] etc.,—these, incidentally, have given a coastal orientation to Harappa culture,—what we may call its Kathiawar-Gujarat branch outlived its north-western counterpart. It, however, showed signs of deterioration due, no doubt, to diminuition of commercial prosperity,[48]

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36 Piggott, *op. cit.*, ch. VI and VII.

37 Saurashtra (Kathiawar) in the days of the Harappa civilisation is supposed to have been an island, cut off from the mainland by a sea extending right over Rajasthan (cf. Sankalia, *Indian Archaeology Today,* pp. 57, 68). There seems to be a confusion here between two distinct possibilities, apparently far removed from each other in point of time. The gulfs of Kach and Cambay could have been joined, in Harappan times, by the Nal lake, now largely a marsh, though adequate proof is needed to establish this surmise. But a Rajasthan-sea then is extremely unlikely. It could have been there in the geological age, known as the Tertiary, and receded as the result, as some geologists think, of a cataclysmic upheavel that shot up the Himalayas to present height and ushered in the Pleistocene. In any case, southern Rajasthan could not have been under water from the early stone age, as Soan tools have turned up there. The Vindhyan sandstone ripple-marks must, therefore, have been very much earlier. If however, Rajasthan came under water only after the early stone age, the sea could not have been there till 1000 B.C. (Lothal's upper limit), as south-east Rajasthan chalcolithic cultures existed in 1500 B.C.

38 *Indian Archaeology—A Review,* 1954-55, p. 12 ; *Id.*, 1955-56, pp. 6-7 ; *Id.,* 1956-57, pp. 15-16 ; *Id.,* 1957-58, pp. 12-13 ; *Id.*, 1958-59, pp. 13-15 ; *Id.*, 1959-60, pp. 16-18.

39 *Id.*, 1953-54, p. 7 ; *Id.*, 1954-55, pp. 11-12.

40 *Id.*, 1957-58, pp. 19-20 ; *Id.*, pp. 19, 21.

41 *Id.*, 1955-56, pp. 7-8.

42 *Id.*, pp. 16-17.

43 *Id.*, 1957-58, p. 20.

44 *Id.*, p. 15.

45 *Id.*

46 *Id.*

47 *Id.*

48 *XXX* The late Harappan culture of Kathiawar-Gujarat, though seemingly not subjected to foreign raids, apparently lost, as evidenced by

following the fall of the Indus and Mesopotamian cities to raiders from the northern outskirts of civilisation.[49] The devolutionary process was possibly aided by elements that took advantage of the situation. That should explain the presence of the lustrous red ware in certain sites, Prabhas were in others and black-on-red,—so-called " chalcolithic, "—ware in yet others.

Whether the appearance of these diverse wares was due to local elements or those from neighbouring areas or even from outside the country is, on the present evidence, difficult to decide. But some of these data with others from south-eastern Rajputana, central India and the Deccan have been construed to point to Aryan authorship of the " chalcolithic " cultures there.[50] The whole chalcolithic complex, however, does not seem Aryan-inspired. The mud-brick houses of Ahar[51] and Gilund[52] (south-eastern Rajasthan) and the imposing mud-brick walls and burnt-brick (of almost Harappan dimensions) structure of the latter site seem to indicate a Harappan, perhaps degenerate, sub-stratum. The terracotta animal figurines from Gilund manifest the Harappan tradition, though to an inferior degree.

The short-blade industry, utilising such fine-grained stone as agate, chalcedony, etc., could have been started by the Harappans themselves with the locally available material, when, owing to invasions from the north-west, the Sukkur-Rohri source of the Harappan chert|flint-blade industry dried up. That would explain the almost alike manufacturing

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lack of inscribed seals, the art of writing. This trait of degeneration was, perhaps, a direct result of the fall in trade, necessitating considerable change in the way of life. As trade gave rise to writing (cf. Piggott, *op. cit.*, p. 178), the loss of the former must have led to the disappearance of the latter, especially as the art of the scribe would have been the monopoly of the commercial community.

49 Indian trade with the west dwindled with Aryan drive into India, west-Asia and Europe. So did the eastern commerce of the Phoenicians, who thereafter concentrated on the Mediterranean (mostly western) and African regions. Only in the time of the Egyptian Ptolemys was there a revival of the eastern trade, which reached its zenith in the heyday of imperial Rcme.

50 Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

51 *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1954-55, pp. 14-15.

52 *Id.*, 1959-60, pp. 41-46.

technique between the old blades and the new one, the shortness of the latter having, no doubt, been dictated by the nature of the material used,—the cores were smaller. Had the Harappans not begun the short-blade industry, they would have had no blade tools during the interval of a few hundred years between the Aryan arrival in Sind and that in Kathiawar-Gujarat, unless they continued their old chert|flint-blade industry with material from another source, say, Raichur,—for both of which propositions there is no evidence at present. That easy availability was the main criterion of choice of material is tellingly proved by the use at Maski, though a chalcolithic site, of chert|flint-blades,—not fine-grained ones,—from nearby Raichur.[53]

The same way would point the black-and-red pottery at Ahar,—it apparently knew no other,—and Gilund, Nagda[54] abd Navdatoli[55] (central India), Prakash[56] and Bahal[57] (Deccan), where it occurred in the earliest level. This ware was found at Lothal together with the commonly recognised Harappan ware right through the entire occupation and would seem, whatever its origin, to have been part and parcel of the Harappan ceramic outfit in Kathiawar-Gujrat, eastern Rajasthan, central India and northern Deccan.

Of the other types of pottery, e.g. the plain black, painted black, red, burnished grey and polychrome from Gilund the source of origin is at present unknown. The typical chacolithic ware, the black-on-red, is supposed to exhibit a painting repertoire reminiscent of Jhukar pottery,[58] that followed Harappan in Sind and that has been traced to the Aryans. But Jhukar designs themselves were made up the earlier Amri, Harappa and south Baluchistan ones[59] and, hence, need

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53 For an instructive survey of the history and distribution of the blade-manufacturing technique from western Europe to India cf. Sankalia (and others), *Excavations at Maheshwar and Navdatoli*, pp. 58-65.

54 *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1955-56, pp. 13-19.

55 Sankalia (and others), *op. cit.* pp. 86, 104, 127.

56 *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1954-55, p. 13.

57 *Id.*, 1956-57, pp. 17.

58 Sankalia (and others), *op. cit.*, p.250.

59 Piggott, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

not have brought from west-Asia just then. The black-on-cream ware from the top-level of Gilund and from the first two periods of Navdatoli, with spotted animals and dancing humans, no doubt, recall Sialk I.[60] From Sialk I, nevertheless, to the top-layer of Gilund andNavdatoli I and II is a far cry, covering a span of almost 2500 years! More to the point could be the cut-spout basin of Gilund and the cut-spout bowl of Navdatoli.[61] The most relevant, however, seems the channal-spouted bowl from the latter[62] (period III), akin to a specimen in copper from the Khurdi[63] (central Rajasthan) hoard, for from Navdatoli III came also a copper dagger with a mid-rib,[64]—a technique unknown in the sub-continent until the Aryans brought it from west-Asia. A similar dagger or spear-head with mid-rib and antennae was recently recovered from Chandoli[65] (poona Dt.) and ascribed, as the first stratified occurrence of a weapon of its kind in the country, to 1100 B.C. The definitely Aryan elements in the chalcolithic cultures of Rajasthan, central India and the Deccan, therefore, are certainly the mid-ribbed sword and, perhaps, a couple of associated pottery types, which have not, however, been encountered so far in Saurashtra.

The archaeological evidence, hence, shows that towards the end of the 2nd. millennium B.C. Aryan influence had just begun trickling into peninsular India and not yet into Kathiawar-Gujarat. Here its full flood broke the banks of the Dravidian stream only around the 6th. cen. B.C. with the advent of the northern black polished ware culture, apparently the result of an amalgam of Aryan and Dravidian elements.[66] Sovira of the 10th. cen. B.C., therefore, must have obviously been

60 Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

61 *Id.*, p. 81.

62 *Id.*, p. 86 and pl. II a.

63 *Id.*, p. 82 and pl. II b.

64 *Id.*, p. 91.

65 *Id.*, p 92 and pl. III b.

66 This fusion, no doubt the greatest achievement of the Dark Age, was brought about through a process of a highly cultured vanquished civilising the largely barbarian victor, as happened wherever the Aryan conqueror went. Hence could Toynbee say, with very good show of reason, that the Harappa kingdom was apparented to the Mauryan empire (which ushered in the historical period of India).

situated in this area. Was it, perhaps, the name by which the Kathiawar-Gujarat Harappa culture was known ?[67]

There is a special reason why the Ophir fleet would have gone to this region. Some scholars think that the Phoenicians of the Levant were the descendants of the Panis, a prominent pre-Aryan trading tribe referred to in the Rig Veda. The name Pani derived from the Dravidian word *panai*, the palmyra palm, which was their totem.[68] This palm grows in abundance along the Kathiawar-Gujarat coast, where the premier commercial community, known as the baniya, now dwells. Although the word *baniya* is generally derived from the Sanskrit *vanij*, meaning trade, it is not impossible that originally it came from *panai* and that subsequently an alternative derivation was sponsored after the aranization of western India. Whatever the derivation of *baniya*, the connection between *panai*, *Pani* and *Phoenician* seems clear. Since the Phoenicians manned the Ophir merchantmen,—the Jews had only a secondary role,—and their forbears had inhabited Kathiawar-Gujarat, the former could have gone nowhere in India except to their ancestral home, especially as the goods they went in search of could be got there with comparative ease.

According to the biblical story the expedition took three years to go to Ophir and get back. Expert seamen, the Phoenicians, no doubt, knew of the prevailing winds in the various seas they navigated. They would have left Eziongeber, on the gulf of Akaba, where the ships were built, in January-February with the north-east trade wind, that actually blows slightly from the north-west following the lay-out of the Red Sea and would have been at the straits of Babel-Mandeb by

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67 Fr. Heras ("The Kingdom of Magan," *B.C. Law Volume* I, pp.545-558) has hinted that *Magan* of the Sumerian documents is likely to have been India. But Glob (*Illustrated London News*, Jan. 11, 1958, p. 55) has pointed out that *Meluhha* was the Sumerian name of the Indus civilisation. Leemans "The Trade Relations of Babylonia," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*. Vol. III, April, 1960, pp. 20-37) has identified *Meluhha* with western India, including Sind and Saurashtra Kramer (letter to the editor, *The Times of India*, Jan. 29, 1961), has, however, plumped for a *Dilmun*-Harappa equation.

68 Heras, *op. cit.*, I, p. 440; Autran, *Mithra, zoroastre et la Prehistoria Aryenne du Christianisme*, pp. 65-72.

April to be driven by the south-west monsoon to Kathiawar-Gujarat by about August.

They could not have commenced their homeward voyage with the returning monsoon in November of the same year, for they would then have had only about months to gather goods,—an almost impossible task in view of their quantity and variety. The cargo, moreover, was not readily available at port but had to come from a vast hinterland, even if we rule out the Indo-Gangetic plain in view of unsettled conditions following Harappa's fall in the north-west and the subsequent Aryan movement eastward.

Gold, for instance, had to be got from the alluvial washings of rivers like Cauvery (significantly called *ponni*) and also the Mysore mines and silver from Kadappa-Kurnool region, where it was regularly extracted from argentiferous galena. The sacred writer, recording the Ophir voyage, does not specify the precious stones but they must have been the same as were got by the Jews right from Mosaic times.[69] Though there is a confusion of names (e.g. their topaz was our chrysolite and vice versa[70] and their carbuncle was our emerald),[71] and though their emerald[72] and beryl[73] cannot be identified, yet we know what most of their names meant. In modern terminology the stones were agate, onyx, chalcedony, rock-crystal, sard, sapphire, tourmaline, emerald, jasper, amethyst, topaz and chrysolite. We can trace most of them to Indian sources,—agate to the Godavari, Krishna and Bhima river-beds and Rewa Kantha in north-east Kathiawar,[74] onyx (the most precious variety of agate) to the same places in the Deccan,[75] chalcedony to Vishakapatnam district,[76] rock-crystal to the Godavari basin, Hyderabad and

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69 *Exodus*, XXVIII, 17-20; XXXIX, 10-13.

70 Smith, *Dictionary of the Bible*, III, s.v. "topaz;" I, pt. I, s.v.

71 *Id.*, I, pt. I, s.v. "carbuncle."

72 *Id.*, I, pt. II, s.v. "emerald."

73 *Id.*, I, pt. I, s.v. "beryl."

74 Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, p. 240; Watt, *op. cit.*, *pp.* 561-562.

75 Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

76 *Id.*, p. 242; Watt, *op. cit.*, p. 562.

Morvi,[77] sard to several peninsular sites,[78] sapphire (a kind of corundum) to Malabar, Salem, Cauvery and upper Godavari basins,[79] tourmaline (ligurius[80] of the bible) to a number of sources in the peninsular,[81] emerald (really a variety of beryl)[82] to Padiyur and Kangayam in Coimbatore district, Munnata in south-western Mysore and Vaniyambadi in Salem,[83] and jasper as well as prase or plasma (mother of emerald) to the Godavari, Krishna and Bhima river-beds.[84] Though the amethyst, topaz and chrysolite were not Indian products, they would have been found in Indian markets as imports from Ceylon. Timber (*almug* or *algum* of the bible) and apes would have come from the tropical forests along the western Ghats, peacocks from Gujarat and Kach and ivory from Mysore.

The return journey, hence, could have started only in October-November of the 2nd. year. By April of the 3rd. the sailors would have been in Babel-mandeb to be wafted by the south-westerly to Eziongeber by mid-year. Then would have followed a transhipment to camel caravan and an overland trek across Edom back to the king's court and thence to fond homes after a lapse of almost three years.

For the Phoenicians the Ophir voyage must have been a regular feature both for commercial as well as cultural reasons. The fatted calf might not have been slain to commemorate the return of the prodigals but celebrations there must have been to honour the visit of enterprising sons to the land of their origin. The Bible, largely concerned with the doings of the Jews, does not relate other peoples' affairs except in so far as the latter affect them. Hence we may not expect details of purely Phoenician Ophir trips. And yet the sacred book does seem to pass stray hints to such expedi-

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77 Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 245.
78 *Id.*, p. 237-238.
79 *Id.*, pp. 247-248 ; Watt, *op. cit.*, p. 559.
80 Smith, *op. cit.*, II, s.v. "ligurius."
81 Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 254 ; Watt, *op. qit.*, p. 563.
82 Watt, *op. cit.*, pp. 556.
83 Warmington, *op. qit.*, pp. 250-251.
84 *Id.*, p. 254 ; Watt, *op. cit.*, p. 563.

tions other than the one in Solomon's time, e.g. in David's,[85] —in which the Hebrews played no part. This is actually the first mention in the Hebrew scriptures of an Ophir sailing. To it the Greek historian, Eupolemus, seems to refer in the history of the kings of Judaea, written before the start of the christian era.[86] Commentators have said that Eupolemus in fact meant to speak of Solomon's enterprise and in error attributed it to David. There is, however, no reason at all to accuse the historian of an oversight. David had conquered Edom[87] and could very well have invited his friend, Hiram of Tyre, to open up, in preference to the hitherto used, rather hazardous, part-land and part-sea route to Ophir via the Persian gulf, a comparatively safe, almost wholly maritime one from the port of Eziongeber on the gulf of Akaba, especially as he was apparently to get a good portion of the gold brought back by the expedition. Details are obviously lacking in the Bible, since the Phoenicians sailed alone without their Hebrew neighbours. In view of Eupolemus' testimony the expression " Ophir gold, " appearing in certain passages[88] of the scriptures from David's time and taken by some commentators to mean " fine gold, " may point to actual Phoenician Ophir voyages.

Biblical scholars seem to think that Sophir was a region. The sailors, however, must have touched a port on the Kathiawar-Gujarat coast. The only port, so far archaeologically proven, to have boasted of a well laid-out, brick-built dockyard, complete with water-locks, spill-ways, loading-platform, wharves etc., is Lothal at the head of the gulf of Cambay and it is tempting to suggest it as the port of call. But as its old name is unknown,—Lothal, meaning " mound of the dead " is obviously a recent one—we have to skip it by. It could not have been the only port of the region. Others have yet to be discovered and will have to be looked for not along

85 I *Chronicles*, XXIX, 4.

86 Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, Bk. IX, c. XXX, see in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XXI, col. 748.

87 II *Kings*, VIII, 14; I *Chronicles*, XVIII, 12-13.

88 *Job*, XXII, 24; XXVIII, 15; *Isaias*, XIII, 12; *Jeremias*, X, 9; *Daniel*, X, 5. "Uphaz" in *Jeremias* is Ophir, say most exegetes.

the present coastline, but a little inland. On the Kathiawar-Gujarat and north Konkan coasts plenty of land has appeared as the result of a timid sea steadily retreating in the face of huge quantities of sand and silt deposited by swift-flowing streams. The formation of Bombay island is explained this way. Lothal's present inland situation is similarly accounted for.

The quest for a suitable port has led Rhys Davids to back the claims of ancient Roruka, later known as Roruva.[89] The capital of Sovira in the 7th. cen. B.C., it was an important centre of the coasting trade, with caravans from all over the country making their way thither. The exact site, however, has not been discovered, but Rhys Davids is almost certain that it was on the gulf of Kach somewhere near modern Khanagao. The main objection to this identification is that the biblical narrative gives no indication at all. Sophir is the only place-name mentioned and by no stretch of imagination can it be derived from Roruka.

That the venue of Solomon's men must have borne a name sounding close to Sophir is obvious, for otherwise some other place in addition to Sophir would have found mention in the Bible. Bearing this in mind some have ably sponsored the case of Sopara[90] (now called also Nala-Sopara), a village situated to the northwest of Bombay. The transition from Sopara to Sophir is easy. Hard as it is to visualise the modern, insignificant hamlet as the famous port at which Solomon's men called, Sopara of old was a different proposition. Incidentally, such visualisation would have been, but for the excavator's spade, even harder in Lothal's case, had it been actually the port in question.

An enquiry into Sopara's etymology is a necessary introduction to a discussion of its antiquity. In ancient Indian literature, of the two names,—Surparaka and Sopara,—referring to the same place the latter is a later form and hence

89 Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 116

90 McCrindle, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, p. 127; Ritter, *Erdkunde Asien*, VIII, Pt. II, p. 386; Reinaud, *Memoir sur l'Inde*, p. 222; Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, II, p. 227.

some have derived it from Surparaka, which in Sanskrit means "concerning a winnowing basket." But, as confirmed by inscriptional evidence, Surparaka appears only in late Sanskrit. The earliest form is Soparaka in Karla cave inscriptions (from 2nd. cen. B.C.); then comes Supparaka in Kanheri cave inscriptions and lastly Surparaka in Nasik cave inscriptions. This shows that Sopara was sanskritised into various forms, in the earliest of which the sanskritising process had left the first syllable intact and affected the termination. Moreover, Soparaka cannot be adequately explained; if *raka* means "concerning," *sopa* makes no sense. Sopara, it is clear, was the old pre-Aryan name of the place and its derivation must be sought in Dravidian thus: *so* = fortified, *par* = expanse, land, country. There seems to be very good reason for this derivation.[91] In a country with a hoary tradition of fortified cities that goes right back to the very dawn of civilisation, *vide* e.g. Harappa and Mohenjo-daro in the Indus basin, Kalibangan in the Ghaggar valley and Lothal in Kathiawar-Gujarat, and that is graphically testified to by Vedic references to the destruction of Dasyu strongholds, Sopara was only one among many. They remained a constant feature of the land till very late in history and their glory can still be glimpsed through the present, imposing ruins of some.

Apart from embodying in its very name one of the oldest traditions of the land, Sopara has its antiquity[92] adequately attested by Sanskrit literature which, doubtless, contains several pre-Aryan elements. In the Harivamsa Sopara's origin has been attributed to Parasurama in a story, that obviously refers to a recession of the sea and incidentally to the site's significance as a coastal town. A different version of the same story is told in the Skanda Purana. In the Ramayana Rama is said to have visited Surparaka. The existence at Sopara of Rama's pool, whose sacredness is spoken of in

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91 Does this origin lurk in the word Saurashtra?

92 A good summing up of the evidence could be had in Braz. A. Fernandes, "Sopara: The Ancient Port of the Konkan." *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Vol. I, No. I, pp. 66-77.

the Mahabharata,[93] is worth noting. In the same epic the Pandavas are said to have rested at Surparaka on their way from Gokarna in Konkan to Prabhas in Kathiawar. Surparaka is also mentioned in the Mahabharata in connection with Sagara[94] and Sahadeva.[95] Buddhist literature is full of references to Surparaka's pre-eminence as a commercial centre. The Punna legend makes mention of its merchant guilds and foreign trade.[96] Prince Vijaya, on his way to Ceylon, landed at the haven of Supparaka.[97] The Jatakas too refer to Sopara's commercial importance. As early as 1882 an Asokan edict was found at Sopara. Recently it yielded a fragment of edict IX.[98] This has given rise to the surmise that all the Asokan edicts must have originally been engraved in the neighbourhood of Sopara.[99] Small wonder Asoka chose it,—a busy port where people of diverse nationalities and faiths met,—to propagate the tenets of his religion. The cave inscriptions of Karla, Kanheri and Nasik, as already stated, contain references to Sopara and speak of its merchants making gifts to Buddhist monasteries.[100] The accounts of Greek[101] and Arab travellers carry the tale well into the christian era and testify to Sopara's importance as a commercial depot on the Konkan coast.

Sopara, it would seem, gave its name to the hinterland, for Sovira is apparently a corruption of Sopara. Sovira has retained unaltered only the initial syllable and *vira* has no suitable explanation. Because the words sounded almost alike, the Hebrews, who entered the region of Sovira through the port of Sopara mentioned their destination as Sophir in their narrative.

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93 *Mahabharata, Vana, parva*, c. 83, v. 43.

94 *Id., Santi Parva*, c. 48, v. 68.

95 *Id., Saba Parva*, c. 32, v. 67.

96 cf. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 56, 57 and 60.

97 Basham, "Prince Vijaya and the Aryanization of Ceylon", *The Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vol. I, pp. 163-171.

98 *Indian Archaeoloy—A Review*, 1953-54, pp. 29-30.

99 Sankalia, *Indian Archaeology Today*, p. 111.

100 Fernandes, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

101 Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, p. 43; McCrindle, "Ptolemy's Geography of India and Southern Asia", *Indian Antiquary*, XIII, p. 325.

Now, to deal with an obvious objection, Pre-Aryan, it has been contended, is not necessarily Dravidian and Harappa language, not yet proved Dravidian, might have for ought we know, been Munda.[102] Without entering into the controversial field of the reading of Harappa language, one may arrive at a mainly Dravidian,—call it proto-Dravidian, if you like—authorship for Harappa through a process of elimination. The Munda-speakers, namely the proto-Australoids, who wove, no doubt, a part of the Harappan pattern, could not have played a dominant role. Today they live mostly in varying stages of palaeolithic environment. While admittedly the present provides no unerring indication to the past, yet to imply that the Munda-speakers, after having produced one of the grandest bronze-age civilisations of the ancient world, —in some respects like town-planning and sanitation the most advanced and in others e.g. dock-building actually unique,—largely lapsed into barbarism and even savagery seems, to say the least, a trifle naive. A priori, therefore, the Dravidian-speakers are by far the better contenders for the honour of makers of Harappa ; and the bible too, incidentally, gives its own clue, however slight, to that effect.

Had we a Phoenician account of the Ophir expedition, it would have cleared many a doubt for the Phoenicians knew India very much better than the Hebrews. Unfortunately we have none. The one Phoenician literary source, that referred to the Ophir voyage, was published by Wagenfeld at Bremen in 1837 under the title : *Sanchuniathonis Historiarum Phoeniciae Libri Novem Graece Versus a Philone Biblia.* This work was supposed to have been originally written by Sanchuniathon, alleged to have lived before the Trojan war and to have been a contemporary of Semiramis. We need not relate the history of the vicissitudes of this work. Suffice it to say that, when Wagenfeld published it, it aroused a huge controversy and was finally consigned to the scrap-heap of spurious documents.[103]

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102 Piggott, *Prehistoric India*, p. 181. This contention does not square up with the one on p. 147 that the proto-Australioids were under-dogs in Harappan society.

103 Tennent, *Ceylon*, I, pp. 571-577.

Finding Ophir in any country or region is, as Vigouroux so aptly puts it, a matter of appreciation.[104] Given the close resemblance between words, given the typically Indian products with typically Indian (Dravidian) names, given the Phoenicians were Indian emigrants to the west from Kathiawar-Gujarat and were the greastest carriers of the trade of the ancient world and given their ancestral home was part of the Harappa commercial kingdom, where the relevant merchandise was easily available, the conclusion seems to follow that Ophir, rather Sophir, was Sopara and Sovira in western India.

However impressive the literary evidence,—be it Indian, Hebrew or even Phoenician,—only archaeology can put the resulting inference on a firm footing. The question obviously arises : was Sopara a Harappan port ?[105] All indications point to an affirmative answer. But the excavator alone can have the final say and he apparently has a good enough case for wielding a productive spade at Sopara.

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104 Vigouroux, *La Bible et les Decouvertes Modernes en Palestine. en Egypte et en Assyrie,* III, p. 391.

105 Bhagatrav (on the Kim estuary), marking the southernmost extension, so far known, of the Harappa culture, is surmised to have been also a Harappan port.

வனப்பிலக்கியம்

வை. கா. சிவப்பிரகாசம்

I

தொல்காப்பியர் செய்யுளிலக்கணத்தை உணர்த்த முற்படுங்கால் செய்யுளின் உறுப்புக்கள் முப்பத்து நான்கு என்று செய்யுளியலின் தொடக்கத்திற் றொகுத்துக் கூறுகிறார். அவர் விளக்கும் முப்பத்து நான்கு உறுப்புக்களையும் பின்வருஞ் செய்யுளியல் நூற்பா பெயரும், முறையும், தொகையும் புலப்பட எடுத்துரைக்கிறது :

“ மாத்திரை யெழுத்திய லசைவகை யெனாஅ
யாத்த சீரே யடியாப் பெனாஅ
மரபே தூக்கே தொடைவகை யெனாஅ
நோக்கே பாவே யளவிய லெனாஅத்
திணையே கைகோள் கூற்றுவகை* யெனாஅக்
கேட்போர் களனே காலவகை யெனாஅப்
பயனே மெய்ப்பா டெச்சவகை யெனாஅ
முன்னம் பொருளே துறைவகை யெனாஅ
மாட்டே வண்ணமோ டியாப்பியல் வகையின்
ஆறு தலையிட்ட வந்நா லைந்தும்
அம்மை அழகு தொன்மை தோலே
விருந்தே யியைபே புலனே யிழைபெனாஅப்
பொருந்தக் கூறிய வெட்டொடுந் தொகைஇ
நல்லிசைப் புலவர் செய்யு ளுறுப்பென
வல்லிதிற் கூறி வகுத்துரைத் தனரே ”

(தொல் : பொருள். செய, 1)

உரை மரபு

இந்நூற்பாவில் முப்பத்து நான்கு உறுப்புக்களையும் ஒரே தொகுதியாகக் கூறாது மாத்திரை முதல் வண்ணம் ஈறாகவுள்ள இருபத்தாறினையும் ஒரு தொகுதியாகவும், அம்மை முதல் இழைபு ஈறாகவுள்ள எட்டையும் பிறிதொரு தொகுதியாகவும் பிரித்துக் கூறியுள்ளார் ஒல்காப் பெரும் புகழ்த் தொல்காப்பியர். ஒரு குறிப்பிட்ட எண்ணினை உடைய தொகுதியைப் பிரித்து இரு பிரிவுகளாக்கி இலக்கண ஆசிரியர் கூறுவரேல் அதற்கு யாதாயினும் ஒரு காரணமிருத்தல் வேண்டும் என எண்ணுவது இலக்கண உரையாசிரியர் மரபு. செய்யுளின்பம் நோக்கி அவ்வாறு

[* பாடம் : பொருள் வகை.]

பிரித்து இலக்கண ஆசிரியர் சில போது தம் கருத்தைக் கூறியதாகக் கொள்ளல்கூடும். ஆயினும் அத்தகைய அமைப்பின் நுட்பம்மூலம் இலக்கண ஆசிரியர் உள்ளத்தையும், இலக்கண நுட்பத்தையும் காண முயல்வதே உரையாசிரியர் மரபும் மனப்பான்மையும் ஆகும். பயனுள்ளதாய் இருக்கும்வரை அம்மரபு போற்றற்குரியதேயாகும்.

உரை மரபொற்றுமை

'ஆறுதலையிட்ட அந்நாலைந்தும்' என்ற தொடரிற்கும், 'பொருந்தக்கூறிய எட்டொடுந் தொகைஇ' என்ற தொடரிற்கும் இளம்பூரணர், பேராசிரியர், நச்சினார்க்கினியர் ஆகிய உரையாசிரியர்கள் வகுத்த உரைகளில் அத்தகைய மரபு மனப்பான்மையில் ஒற்றுமையைக் காணலாம்.

> "எண்பெயர் முறைபிறப் புருவம் மாத்திரை
> முதலீறிடை நிலை போலி என்றா
> பதம் புணர்பெனப் பன்னிரு பாற்றதுவே"

என்ற நன்னூற் சூத்திர உரையிலும் அத்தகைய மரபையும் மனப்பான்மையையும் காணலாம். ஆகவே, ஆசிரியன் உள்ளத்தை ஆராயும் மரபு வழிவழிவளர்த்த உரையாசிரியப் பண்பாடு என்றே புலப்படுகிறது.

இருதொகை விளக்கம்

இளம்பூரணர் வேறு தொகை கொடுக்கப்பட்டமையை விளக்குமிடத்துப், "பிற்கூறிய எட்டும் மேற்கூறிய இருபத்தாறினோடும் ஒரு நிகரனவன்மையின், வேறு தொகை கொடுக்கப்பட்டது. அவையாமாறு தத்தஞ் சூத்திரத்துக் காட்டுதும்" என்று சுருக்கமாகக் கூறுகிறார். பேராசிரியர் விரிவாக இதனை விளக்குகிறார். முதலாவதாக, மாத்திரை முதல் வண்ணம் ஈறாகவுள்ள இருபத்தாறும் ஒரு செய்யுளிலாயினும் பல செய்யுள் தொடர்ந்த வழியாயினும் ஒரோவொன்றாக வாராது. பல சேர்ந்து வரும். ஆனால் அம்மை முதல் இழைபு ஈறாகவுள்ள எட்டும் அவ்வாறன்றி ஒரோவொரு செய்யுட்கு ஒரோவொன்றே வரும். அன்றியும் இவை பெரும்பாலும் செய்யுள் தொகுதிக்கு உறுப்பாகும். இரண்டாவதாக, முதலிருபத்தாறும் ஒன்றோடொன்று பிணைப்புடையனவாக இருத்தலின் ஒன்றின்றி மற்றது அமையாது எடுத்துக்காட்டாக, எழுத்தின்றி அசை இல்லை; எழுத்தாலானதே அசை. அவ்வாறே அசைகளாற் சீர் உருவாதலின், அசையின்றிச் சீர் இல்லை. "எனவே ஒழிந்த உறுப்பு இருபத்தாறும் ஒன்றொன்றனையின்றி

அமையாவென்பது பெற்றும்" என்று பேராசிரியர் கூறும் உரை பொருத்தமுடையதேயாகும். ஆனால், பின்னைய எட்டும் அவ்வாறு ஒன்றென்றனை இன்றியமையா என்று சொல்லமுடியாது. அவை ஒரு செய்யுளிலோ பல செய்யுட்களிலோ முதல் தொடக்கம் முடிவுவரை ஊடுருவி நிற்கும் அழகுப் பண்புகளே யாகும்.

நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கொள்கையும் பேராசிரியர் கொள்கையும் ஒற்றுமையுடையன வாகும். பின்வரும் நச்சினார்க்கினியர் உரைப் பகுதிகள் இவ்வொற்றுமையை விளக்கவல்லன.

> "இருபத்தாறு என்றும் எட்டென்றும் இருவகையாற் றொகைகூறியது, இருபத்தாறுந் தனிநிலைச் செய்யுட்கு ஒன்றென்றனை இன்றியமையாவாய் வருதலும், அவ்வெட்டும் பலசெய்யுட் டொடர்ந்த தொடர்நிலைச் செய்யுட்கே பெரும்பான்மையும உறுப்பாய் வருதலும், தனிநிலைக்கண் ஒரோவொன்றாயும் வருதலும் அறிவித்தற் கென்க."
>
> — [தொல் பொருள்; செய்யுளியல் 1: உரைப்பகுதி]

> "இதன் தொகைச்சூத்திரத்துள் ஆறுதலையிட்ட நாலைந்துமெனக் கூறுபடுத்தி வேறுநிறீஇப்பின்னர் எட்டுறுப்பெனக்கூறிய தென்னையெனின் அவையொரோ செய்யுட்கோதிய வுறுப்பென்பதும் இவைபல செய்யுளுந்திரண்டவழி இவ்வெட்டுறுப்பும் பற்றித் தொகுக்கப்படு மென்பதும் அறிவித்தற் கெனக் கொள்க."

See elsewhere — [தொல்: பொருள்: செய்யுளியல். 235 உரைப் பகுதி.]

நச்சினார்க்கினியர் வனப்பைத் தனிநிலைச் செய்யுட்குக் கொள்ளுதற்குத் தடையொன்று கூறுகிறார். வனப்பைத் தனிநிலைச் செய்யுட்கும் கொள்ளின் மாத்திரை முதலிய இருபத்தாறு உறுப்புக் களின் அழகு தோன்றாது என்று அவர் கருதுவதாகத் தெரிகிறது. "இவ்வனப்பை யொரோ செய்யுளுநட் கொள்ளின் மாத்திரை முதலியவற்றின் அழகு பிறவாதாம்" [செய்யுளியல் : 235 : உரைப் பகுதி] என்ற சொற்கள் அவர் கருத்தை உணர்த்துகின்றன. ஆனால் வனப்புக் காரணமாக மாத்திரை முதலியவற்றின் அழகு பிறவாது என்ற கருத்து எவ்வளவிற்குப் பொருந்துமென்று புரியவில்லை. வனப்பு என்பது பல வுறுப்புத் திரணடவழிப்பெறுவதோரழகு என்றுதான் நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கூறுகிறார். ஆகவே மாத்திரை முதலிய உறுப்புக்களில் ஒவ்வொன்றின் தனிநிலையழகும் வனப்பாகிய திரட்சியழகின்முன் மங்கிப்போகக் கற்போர் உள்ளத்தில் தனி நிலைச்செய்யுளின் தொகுதியழகே நிறைந்து நிற்கும் என்று அவர் கருதுகிறாரென உய்த்துணர வேண்டியுள்ளது. இவ்வாறு விளக்கின் அவர் கொள்கை ஒருவாறு ஏற்புடைத்து எனலாம்.

இலக்கணவகை விளக்கம் : ஒடுவின் பொருள் நுட்பம்

மூன்றும் வேற்றுமையின் பொருள் வகைகளைத் தொல்காப்பியர்,

" அதனி னியற லதற்றகு கிளவி
அதன்வினைப் படுத லதனி னாதல்
அதனிற் கோட லதனொடு மயங்கல்
அதனொ டியைந்த வொருவினைக் கிளவி
அதனொ டியைந்த வேறுவினைக் கிளவி
அதனொ டியைந்த ஒப்ப லொப்புரை
இன்னா னேது வீங்கென வரூஉம்
அன்ன பிறவும் அதன்பால வென்மனார் "

—[தொல் சொல் : வேற்று : 13]

என்ற நூற்பாவிற் கூறுகிறார். இவற்றுள் 'அதனொடு மயங்கல்' என்பதற்கு 'எண்ணொடு விராய அரிசி' என்பதைச் சேனாவரையர் எடுத்துக்காட்டாகக் கூறுகிறார். ஒரு நிகரனவல்லா எள்ளும் அரிசியும் கலந்திருத்தல் 'அதனொடு மயங்கல்' என்ற தொடரை விளக்குகிறது.

'பொருந்தக்கூறிய எட்டொடும்' என்ற தொடரில் எட்டொடும் என்பதிலுள்ள 'ஓடு', தொல்காப்பியர் கூறும் மூன்றும் வேற்றுமைப் பொருட்களில் 'அதனொடு மயங்கல்' என்ற பொருளையுடையது. ஆகவே எட்டொடும் என்ற இடத்து 'ஓடு'வை 'அதனொடு மயங்கல்' என்னும் பொருளில் ஆண்டிருத்தல், தொல்காப்பியர் மாத்திரை முதலிய இருபத்தாறும், அம்மை முதலிய எட்டும் ஒரு நிகரனவல்ல என்னும் கொள்கையுடையவர் என்ற கருத்தை விளக்குகின்றது. இதுவே தொல்காப்பியர் உட்கிடை என்று கொள்ளலாம்.

யாப்பலங்காரமா ? வனப்பா ?

எட்டுறுப்புக்களையும் தொல்காப்பியர் 'பொருந்தக்கூறிய எட்டு' என்றும் 'வனப்பு' என்றும் இருவகையாகச் சுட்டுகிறார். யாப்பருங்கல ஆசிரியர் இவற்றை, "அம்மை முதலிய வாயிரு நான்மையும்" (ஒழிபியல்) என்றும், அதன் பழைய உரையாசிரியர் 'அம்மை முதலிய எட்டு யாப்பலங்காரம்' என்றும் கூறுகிறார்கள். யாப்பருங்கலக்காரிகையில் ஆசிரியர் அமுதசாகரனார் 'வனப்பு' (ஒழிபியல்) என்றே இவற்றைக் குறிப்பிடுகிறார். செய்யுளை இவை அலங்கரித்தலின் வனப்பை 'யாப்பலங்காரம்' என்று சுட்டும் வழக்குத் தொல்காப்பியருக்குப்பின் தோன்றியது போலும்.

எது வனப்பு?

செய்யுள் உறுப்புக்கள் பலவும் ஒழுங்குபட அமைதலால் தோன்றும் தொகுதியழகே வனப்பாகும். பேராசிரியர் இதனை, "வனப்பென்பது, பெரும்பான்மையும் பல வுறுப்புத்திரண்ட வழிப்பெறுவதோர் அழகாகலின் அவ்வாறு கோடும்" என்று விளக்குகிருர். நச்சினுர்க்கினியர், "இவற்றை வனப்பென்று பெயர் கூறிற்றுப் பலவுறுப்புந்திரண்டவழிப்பெறுவதோரழகாதலின்" (செய்யுளியல்: 235: உரைப்பகுதி) என்று கூறுகிருர். நச்சினுர்க்கினியர் சிந்தாமணியுரையிற் 'சமுதாய சோபை' என்று கூறுவதும் இத்தொகுதியழகையே யாகும்.

இரு வேறுநோக்குகள்

வனப்பு என்ற சொல்லின் பொருள்நுட்பம் மாத்திரை முதலிய இருபத்தாறையும், அம்மை முதலிய எட்டையும் இருதிறத்தனவாக வகுத்த நுட்பத்திறனை விளக்கவல்லது. தொல்காப்பியர் செய்யுளிலக்கணத்தைத் தனிநோக்கு, முழுநோக்கு என்னும் இரு கோணங்களிலிருந்து ஆராய்கிருர் என்பது அப்பொருள் நுட்பத்திறற் புலனுகின்றது. மாத்திரை முதலிய இருபத்தாறும் தனிநோக்காராய்ச்சியின் விளைவாகப் பிறந்த ஒரு தொகுதி. அம்மை முதலிய எட்டும் முழுநோக்காராய்ச்சியின் விளைவாகப் பிறந்த மற்றைய தொகுதி. உரையாசிரியர்கள் கருதுவதுபோல இம்முழுநோக்கு, தனிநிலைச் செய்யுட்கும், தொடர்நிலைச் செய்யுட்கும் பொருந்துவதே யாகும். ஆயினும் சங்க காலத்தில் ஒரு நிகழ்ச்சியை ஒரு துறையாக அமைத்துத் தனிநிலைச் செய்யுள் பாடும் போக்குத்தான் பெருவழக்கு. இராமாயணம், பாரதம் போன்ற தொடர்நிலைச் செய்யுட்கள் பாடும் போக்குச் சிறுபான்மை என்றே கொள்ளவேண்டும். எனவே வனப்பெட்டும் பெரும்பாலும் தொடர்நிலைச் செய்யுட்களுக்கே பொருந்துவன என்னும் கொள்கை உரையாசிரியர்களின் பிற்காலக் காவிய ஆராய்ச்சியின் விளைவு என்று கூறவேண்டும்.

II

தொல்காப்பியர் குறியீட்டு நுட்பம்

இலக்கணக் குறியீடுகளைப் பொருளாழமுடையனவாக அமைத்தல் ஒரு மரபு. தொல்காப்பியரும் இம்மரபைப் போற்றுபவரே. நிறுத்த சொல், குறித்துவருகிளவி, உயிர், மெய், செய்யுள் போன்ற குறியீடுகள் பொருளாழமுடையனவாகக் கூறவேண்டிய

இலக்கணக் கருத்துக்களை ஓரளவுக்கு விளக்குவனவாகத் தொல்காப்பியத்தில் அமைந்துள்ளன. அம்மை, அழகு, தொன்மை முதலிய எட்டும் அவ்வாறு பொருளாழமுடையனவாகவே உள்ளன. அவற்றின் பொருளமைதியை இயன்ற அளவு விளக்க உரையாசிரியர்கள் முயன்றுள்ளனர். எண்வகை வனப்புக்களையும் சுட்டும் குறியீட்டுச் சொற்களின் பொருளமைதி உணர்த்தும் உண்மைகள் யாவை? அவற்றை அவ்வவ் வனப்பின் சிறப்பியல்களோடு இயைபுபடுத்துவதில் உரையாசிரியர்கள் வெற்றியீட்டியுள்ளனரா? இவற்றை ஒவ்வொரு வனப்பையும் ஆராயும்போது காண்போம்.

அம்மை

எண்வகை வனப்பினுள் அடைவுமுறையில் முதலிற் கூறப்படுவது 'அம்மை'. அம்மை என்ற சொல் "அமைதிப்பட்டு நிற்றல்" என்னும் பொருளையுடைய குணப்பெயர் என்று பேராசிரியரும் நச்சினார்க்கினியரும் விளக்குவர். அம்மை, தாய் என்பன ஒரு பொருட் பன்மொழியெனக்கொண்டு, தாயின் குணம் அமைதித் தன்மையென்று கருதி 'அம்மை: அமைதிப்பட்டு நிற்றல்' என உரையாசிரியர்கள் விளக்கினரோ என்று எண்ண வேண்டியுள்ளது. பெண்மை அமைதித்தன்மை என்று பழைய உரையாசிரியர் ஒருவர் விளக்குதல் ஈண்டு நினைவுகூர்தற்குரியது. ஆயின் இத்தகைய விளக்கம் சங்ககாலத்திற்குப் பிற்பட்ட அம்மா என்ற சொல்லின் பொருளாராய்ச்சியால் விளைந்தது என்று கூறவேண்டும்.

அ, அம் என்பன அழகு என்னும் பொருளிற் சங்க இலக்கியங்களில் வருகின்றன. இனிமையென்னும் பொருளிலும் 'அம்' ஆளப்பட்டுள்ளது. எனவே அம்மை இனிமையும் அழகுமுள்ள இலக்கியவகை எனலாம். 'சின் மென் மொழியாற் சீர்புனைந்து யாப்பின்' என்ற தொடரில் 'மென்' என்னும் அடைமொழி புணர்க்கப்பட்டுள்ளமையும் இவ்விளக்கத்திற்கு அமைதிதருகிறது.

அம்மையின் இயல்புகளைக் கூறும் நூற்பா பின்வருமாறு:

"வனப்பிய றானே வகுக்குங் காலைச்
சின்மென் மொழியாற் றாய பனுவலொ
டம்மை தானே யடிநிமிர் பின்றே" —பேராசிரியம்

இளம்பூரணரும், நச்சினார்க்கினியரும் கொண்ட பாடங்கள் வருமாறு:

"சின்மென் மொழியாற் சீர்புனை ந் தியாப்பின்
அம்மை தானே அடிநிமிர் வின்றே" —இளம்பூரணம்

"சின்மென் மொழியாற் றுய பனுவலி
னம்மை தானே யடிநிமிர் வின்றே" —நச்சினார்க்கினியம்

தொல்காப்பிய நூற்பாவின் சாரத்தை நோக்கின், சின் மொழியாட்சி, மென் மொழியாட்சி, தாயபனுவலுடைமை, அடி நிமிர்வின்மை என்பன அம்மை என்னும் இலக்கியவகையின் சிறப்பியல்புகள் என்பது புலனாகும். இளம்பூரணர் பாடத்தை ஏற்பின் 'சீர்புனையாப்புடைமை'யும் அம்மைக்குரிய சிறப்பியல்பு எனலாம். யாப்பருங்கல உரை, யாப்பருங்கலக் காரிகை இரண்டும் 'ஒள்ளியபொருளுடைமை'யும் அம்மையின் இயல்பு என்று கூறுகின்றன. தாயபனுவலிலக்கணமுடைமையையே அவை ஒள் ளிய பொருளுடைமை என்கின்றன போலும்.

சின் மொழியாட்சியை விளக்கும் பேராசிரியர் நச்சினார்க்கினி யர் இருவரும் 'சிலவாதல் : சொல்லெண்ணுச் சுருங்குதல்' என்ற கொள்கையை வற்புறுத்துகின்றனர்.

"பலசொல்லக் காமுறுவர் மன்ற மாசற்ற
சிலசொல்லல் தேற்றா தவர்"

என்ற வள்ளுவர் கோட்பாடு அம்மையின் இயல்பாய் அமைதல் நோக்குதற்குரியது. எனவே சுருங்கக்கூறல் என்னும் அழகு அம்மையில் அமைதல்வேண்டும் என்பது புலப்படும். அதனால் மற்றொன்று விரித்தல், வெற்றெனத் தொடுத்தல், நின்றுபய னின்மை என்னும் குற்றம்படச் சொற்களை ஆளலாகாதென்பதும் உய்த்துணரற் பாலது. இவற்றிலிருந்து அம்மை ஒருவகையிற் சூத்திர இயல்புடையது என்பது தெளிவாகின்றது.

மென் மொழியாட்சியை விளக்கும் பேராசிரியரும் நச்சினார்க் கினியரும், அம்மையில் அமைய வேண்டிய சிலவாகிய சொற்கள் சில எழுத்துக்களால் அமைந்த குறுகிய வடிவினவாதல் வேண்டும் என்கின்றனர். 'மென்மை' ஓசை வேறுபாட்டை உணர்த்துமேயன்றிக் குறுக்கம் என்னும் பொருளையுணர்த்து மென்று கொள்ள இடமிருப்பதாகத் தெரியவில்லை. அம்மை ஒரு வகையிற் சூத்திர இயல்புடையது என்று தோன்றிய எண்ணம், "சில்வகை எழுத்தின் செய்யுட்டாகி" (மரபியல் : 646) என்னும் சூத்திர இலக்கணம் பற்றிய சிந்தனையால் வளர்ச்சிபெற, உரை யாசிரியர்கள் 'மென்மை : சில வெழுத்துடைமை' என்ற பிழை யான விளக்கந்தர நேரிட்டது என்று கொள்ளவேண்டியுள்ளது.

ஆகவே 'மென்மொழி' என்ற தொடர் மெல்லோசையைக் குறிக்கின்றது என்று விளக்குதலே பொருத்தம். அதனால், 'மெல்லிசை வண்ணம்' பயிலுதல் அம்மையின் இயல்பென்று தொல்காப்பியர் கூறுகின்றார் எனலாம்.

தாயபனுவலிலக்கணமுடைமையைத் தொல்காப்பியர் 'தாய பனுவலோடு' என்ற தொடரினால் குறிப்பிடுகிறார். 'தாய', என்பது 'இடையிட்டுவந்த' என்றும், 'பனுவல்'* என்பது அறநூலிலக்கணம்' என்றும் பொருள்படுகின்றன. பேராசிரியரும் நச்சினார்க்கினியரும் இவ்வாறு விளக்கம் தருவதில் ஒற்றுமையுடையோராய்க் காணப்படுகின்றனர். இரு சொற்களின் பொருளையும் இணைத்தால் 'தாயபனுவலோடு' என்பது 'இடையிட்டுவந்த பனுவலிலக்கணத்தானும்' எனப் பொருள்படும். 'இடையிட்டு வந்த பனுவலிலக்கணம் என்பது, அறம், பொருள், இன்பம் என்பனபற்றி உரைத்தலும், அவ்வாறு உரைக்கும்போது இடையிடையே வேறு பொருள்பற்றிக் கூறுதலும் என்னும் இரு பகுதிகளையுடையது. இவ்விருவகையியல்புகளுமுள்ள இலக்கியம் பதினெண் கீழ்க்கணக்கு என்றே இவ்விரு உரையாசிரியரும் கருதுகின்றனர்.

"நற்பனுவ லல்வேதத்(து)" [புறம்: 15: 17]

என்ற அடிக்கு, "நல்ல தருமநூலினும் நால்வகைப்பட்ட வேதத்தினும்" எனப்பொருள் கூறுதல் காண்க.

பனுவல் என்ற சொல்லிற்குச் 'சுகிர்ந்த பஞ்சு' என்னும் பொருளும் சங்ககாலத்திலிருந்தது. ஆகவே

"பஞ்சிதன் சொல்லாப் பனுவல் இழையாகச்
செஞ்சொற் புலவனே சேயிழையா—எஞ்சாத
கையேவா யாகக்கதிரே மதியாக
மையிலா நூல்முடியும் ஆறு"

என்ற பாட்டுக் கூறும் நூலியற்றும் பான்மையைத் தொல்காப்பியர் 'பனுவலோடு' என்ற சொல்லின் மூலம் குறிப்பாக—நுட்பமாய் உணர்த்துகிறார் என்று எண்ணத் தோன்றுகிறது.

அம்மைக்குரிய மற்றச் சிறப்பியல்பு 'அடிநிமிர் வின்மை'. பேராசிரியர் ஐந்தடியின் மிகாமையே அடிநிமிர் வின்மை என்கிறார். நச்சினார்க்கினியர் ஆறடியின் மிகாமை என்கிறார். ஆனால்

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* பனுவல் என்ற சொல்லிற்குப் புறநானூற்றின் பழைய உரையாசிரியரும் 'தருமநூல்' என்று பொருள் கூறுகிறார்

இளம்பூரணர் எல்லை சுட்டவில்லை. அடிநிமிர்தல், அடியெண் பெருகுதல் என்ற பொருளிலேயே தொல்காப்பியரால் ஆளப்படு கின்றது. 'அடக்கியலின்றி அடிநிமிர்ந்தொழுகியும்', 'அடிநிமிர் கிளவி யீராறும்' என்ற தொல்காப்பியர் ஆட்சியை நோக்குக. எனவே, 'அடிநிமிர்தல்' சிலவடிகளால் இயற்றப்படுதல் என்ற பொருள் தொல்காப்பியர்க்கு உடன்பாடானதேயாகும். நால் வகைப் பாக்களிற் குறள் வெண்பாவே மிகச் சிறியது. ஆகவே, குறள் வெண்பாவிற்கே அம்மை என்னும் இலக்கிய வகைக்கு உரியதாகும் தகுதி பெரிதும் உண்டு. எனினும் சங்கப்பாடல்களை அடியளவின் அடிப்படையிற் பாகுபாடுசெய்து தொகைகள் ஆக்கிய சான்றோர் குறுந்தொகையையும் ஐங்குறுநூற்றையும் தொகுத்தபோது எட்டடியின் மிகா அகவல்களையும் ஆறடியின் மிகா அகவல்களையும் குறும்பாக்கள் எனக்கொண்டனர். ஆகவே, குறுந்தொகைக்கு உரைவகுத்த பேராசிரியரும் நச்சினார்க்கினி யரும் எட்டடி எல்லையை அடி நிமிராமையின் விளக்கமாக ஏன் கூறவில்லையோ தெரியவில்லை.

அம்மையென்னும் வனப்பிற்குத் தொல்காப்பியர் திட்பநுட்ப மாகக் கூறிய இலக்கணத்தையும் அதன் விளக்கங்களையும் சுருக் கித் தருவதாயின் யாப்பருங்கல உரையாசிரியர் சொற்களாற் பின் வருமாறு கூறலாம் :

> "சிலவாய மெல்லியவாய சொற்களால் ஒள்ளியவாய
> பொருள்மேற் சிலவடியாற் சொல்லப்படுவது."

அம்மைக்கு எடுத்துக்காட்டாகத் தரப்படுவது குறள். தொல் காப்பிய உரையாசிரியர்களும், பிற்கால யாப்புரையாசிரியர்களும் காட்டும் பாட்டு வருமாறு :

> "அறிவினா னாகுவ துண்டோ பிறிதினோய்
> தன்னோய் போற் போற்றாக் கடை"

குறளினும் சிறந்த எடுத்துக்காட்டை அம்மைக்கு உரியதாகக் காட்டலாமோ ?

அழகு

எண்வகை வனப்பினுள் இரண்டாவதாகக் கூறப்படுவது அழகு. அழகு "கண்டாரால் விரும்பப்படும் தன்மை நோக்கம்" என்பது திருக்கோவையாருரையிற் பேராசிரியர் கூறுவதிலிருந்து உய்த்துணரக்கூடிய கருத்து. எனவே, செய்யுட்குரிய நல்லியல்பு களையுடையதாய்ச் சொல்லாலும், பொருளாலும், அமைப்பாலும்

கற்போர் உள்ளத்தை ஈர்க்கும் ஆற்றல் பொருந்திய இலக்கிய வகையே அழகு எனலாம்.

இத்தகைய அழகென்னும் வனப்பின் இலக்கணத்தைத் தொல்காப்பியர்,

> "செய்யுள் மொழியாற் சீர்புனைந் தியாப்பின்
> அவ்வகை தானே அழகெனப் படுமே"
>
> [செய்யுளியல் 228]

என்று கூறுகிறார்.

செய்யுட்குரிய சொற்களாற் சீர்புணர்த்துத் தொடுத்தலே இதன் சிறப்பியல்பென இளம்பூரணர், பேராசிரியர், நச்சினார்க் கினியர் ஆகிய உரையாசிரியர்கள் விளக்குகின்றனர். ஓசை யுடைமையும் அழகென்னும் வனப்பின் இயல்பென்று யாப்பருங் கல உரையாசிரியர், யாப்பருங்கலக்காரிகை உரையாசிரியர் ஆகி யோர் கருதுகின்றனர்.

செய்யுண்மொழியாவன, இயற்சொல், திரிசொல், திசைச் சொல், வடசொல் என்னும் நான்கும் என்பது தொல்காப்பியர் கருத்து.

> "இயற்சொற் றிரிசொற் றிசைச்சொல வடசொலென்
> றனைத்தே செய்யு ளீட்டச் சொல்லே"
>
> [தொல்—சொல்—எச்சவியல. 1]

'செய்யுண் மொழி' என்ற தொடரை நச்சினார்க்கினியர், "வழக்குச் சொற்பயிலாமற் செய்யுளுட் பயின்று வருஞ்சொல்" என்று விளக்குதல் பொருத்தமாகவேயுள்ளது. அதனால், வழக்குச் சொல்லாகிய சேரி மொழி பயிலும் புலனென்னும் வனப்பின் அழகு என்னும் வனப்பு வேறுதல் புலப்படும்

ஆனாற் பேராசிரியர் செய்யுண் மொழியைத் திரிசொற் பயிலாது செய்யுளுட் பயின்றுவரும் மொழி என்று கூறல் பொருந் தாது. திரிசொல் செய்யுட் சொல்லாதலின் அது செய்யுளுட் பயின்றுவரும்.

அம்மைக்கும் அழகுக்கும் உள்ள வேறுபாடொன்றைப் பேராசிரியர் விளக்குகிறார். அம்மை தாயபனுவல் இலக்கண முடையது; அழகு அஃது இல்லாதது. அதனால் மூவடி முப்பது முதலாயின அம்மையின்பாற் படா வென்கிறார் பேராசிரியர். அம்மை, அழகு இரண்டின் இலக்கணங்களையும் கூறும் நூற்பாக் களை ஆழ்ந்து நோக்குமிடத்து வேறுவகையிலும் அவை வேறு படுகின்றன என்பது புலனாகும்.

இத்தகைய அழகென்னும் வனப்பிற்கு எடுத்துக்காட்டாக நெடுந்தொகை முதலிய எண் பெருந்தொகைகளையும் பேராசிரியர் நச்சினார்க்கினியர் இருவரும் கூறுகின்றனர். சொல்லழகாலும், பொருளழகாலும், நுவலுந்திறனாலும், பல்லாற்றானும் கற்போர் உள்ளத்தை ஈர்க்கும் பேராற்றல் படைத்தன தொகை நூற்பாக்கள். கற்றறிந்தோரால் ஏத்தப்படுவனவும், மன்னர் மனத்தை மகிழ்வித்தனவுமாகிய தொகையெட்டையும் அழகு என்னும் வனப்பென்று கூறத் தடையுண்டோ ?

இளம்பூரணர், யாப்பருங்கல உரையாசிரியர், யாப்பருங்கலக்காரிகை உரையாசிரியர் ஆகியோர் காட்டும் எடுத்துக் காட்டு :

" துணியிரும் பரப்பகம்* குறைய வாங்கி
மணிகிளர் அடுக்கல் முற்றிய எழிலி
காலொடு மயங்கிய கனையிருள் நடுநாள்
யாங்குவந் தனையோ ஓங்கல் வெற்ப
நெடுவரை மருங்கிற் பாம்பென இழிதரும்
கடுவரற் கலுழி நீந்தி
வல்லியம் வழங்குங் கல்லதர் நெறியே."

—[இளம்பூரணம்]

தொன்மை

மூன்றாவதாக விளக்கப்படுவது தொன்மை. தொன்மை என்ற சொல்லின் பொருள் பழைமை. பழைமைபோற்றும் அழகு தொன்மையிற் பொதிந்துள்ளது.

தொன்மையாவது உரைவிரவிப் பழையனவாகிய கதைப் பொருள்மேல் வரும் இலக்கியவகை. இதனைத் தொல்காப்பியர்,

" தொன்மை தானே,
உரையொடு புணர்ந்த பழைமை மேற்றே "

என விளக்குகிறார்.

உரையொடு புணர்தல் : உரை விரவி வருதல் என்று இளம்பூரணர், நச்சினார்க்கினியர், பேராசிரியர் மூவரும் விளக்கம் தருகின்றனர். ஆனால் திரு. க. வெள்ளைவாரணனார் அவர்கள் 'உரையொடு புணர்தல்' : நெடுங்காலமாகப் பலராலும் சொல்லப்பட்டு வருதல் என்று விளக்குகிறார்.

[* 'பௌவம்' என்பது யாப்பருங்கல உரையாசிரியர், யாப்பருங்கலக் காரிகை உரையாசிரியர் இருவரும் கொண்ட பாடம்.]

பாட்டிடை வைத்த குறிப்பு, பாவின்றெழுந்த கிளவி, பொருள் மரபில்லாப் பொய்ம்மொழி, பொருளொடு புணர்ந்த நகைமொழியென உரைவகை நடை நால்வகைப்படும். அவற்றுள் பாட்டிடை வைத்த குறிப்புச் சிறப்பாகத் தொன்மையின் இயல்பென்று கொள்ளுதற்குரிய தகுதி வாய்ந்தது.

பாண்டவ சரிதமும் இராம சரிதமும் தொன்மைக்கு இலக்கியமாக இளம்பூரணர், யாப்பருங்கல உரையாசிரியர் இருவராலும் காட்டப்படுகின்றன. பேராசிரியர் பெருந்தேவனாரால் பாடப்பட்ட பாரதத்தையும் தகடூர் யாத்திரையையும் காட்டுகின்றார். இவற்றோடு "சிலப்பதிகாரமும் அதன்பாற்படும்" என்று நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கூறுகின்றார். யாப்பருங் கலக்காரிகையுரையாசிரியர் மாபாரதம், காந்தம் போல்வன எடுத்துக்காட்டென்கிறார்.*

பாரதம், இராமாயணம், தகடூர் யாத்திரை என்பன பழைய கதைப்பொருள் மேலன. இவற்றுள் தகடூர் யாத்திரை 'பாட்டிடை வைத்த குறிப்பு' உடையதென நச்சினார்க்கினியரும், பேராசிரியரும் கூறுகின்றனர். எனவே, தகடூர் யாத்திரை உரையொடு புணர்தல் என்னும் இயல்புள்ளதென்பது தெள்ளிதிற் புலப்படும்.

சிலம்பு தொன்மையா?

"சிலப்பதிகாரமும் அதன்பாற்படும்" என்ற நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கருத்து ஆராயற்பாலது. முதலாவதாகச் சிலப்பதிகாரத்திற் 'பாட்டிடை வைத்த குறிப்பு' என்னும் உரைவகை விரவியுள்ளது என்பது நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கருத்து. இளம்பூரணர் கருத்து மிதுவே. ஆய்ச்சியர் குரவையுள்,

> "கயலெழுதிய இமய நெற்றியின்
> . . . .
> இடைமகள் முதுமகள் வந்துதோன்றுமன்"

எனவரும் பகுதியை இளம்பூரணர் எடுத்துக்காட்டாகத் தருகிறார். அடியார்க்கு நல்லாரும் சிலப்பதிகாரத்தை உரையிடையிட்ட பாட்டுடைச் செய்யுள் என்கிறார். எனவே, 'உரையொடு புணரல்' ஆகிய இயல்பு சிலப்பதிகாரத்திற் காணப்படுகின்றது என்பது ஏற்புடைத்து. அதனால், சிலப்பதிகாரம் தொன்மையின்பாற்படும் என்ற எண்ணம் நச்சினார்க்கினியர் உள்ளத்தில் முகிழ்த்திருத்தல் வேண்டும்.

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* பெரிய புராணமுந் தொன்மையின்பாற்படும் என்று நாம் கொள்ளலாம்.

இரண்டாவதாகச் சிலப்பதிகாரக் கதைப் பொருள் நச்சினார்க்கினியர் காலத்திற்குப் பன்னூறு ஆண்டுகட்கு முற்பட்டது. அதனால், சிலம்பு பழையகதைப் பொருள்மேலது என அவர் எண்ணுகிறார்போலும். ஆகவேதான், "சிலப்பதிகாரமும் அதன் பாற்படும்" எனக் கூறுகிறார் போலும்.

தொன்மைக்குரிய இருவேறு இயல்புகளில் உரையொடு புணர்தல் சிலப்பதிகாரத்திற் காணப்படுகின்றதென்னும் கருத்து ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளக்கூடியதே. ஆனால், 'பழைமை மேற்று' என்பதற்கு உரையாசிரியர் தமது காலத்திற்கு நெடுங்காலம் முற்பட்ட கதைப்பொருள் மேலது எனப் பொருள் கொள்வரேல் அது பொருந்தாது. நூலாசிரியர் காலத்திற்கு நெடிதுமுன் வழங்கிய கதைப்பொருளது என்று பொருள் கொள்ளலே ஏற்புடைத்து.

சிலப்பதிகாரக் கதைப்பொருள் இளங்கோவடிகள் காலத்திற்குமுன் நெடுங்காலம் வழங்கிய ஒன்று என்பது நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கொள்கை எனக்கொள்ளலாமோவெனில் அவ்வாறு கொள்ளுவதற்குத் தடைகளுள.

சிலப்பதிகாரக் கதைப்பொருள் இளங்கோவடிகட்குமுன் வழக்காற்றில் இடம் பெற்ற ஒன்று என்று திருவாளர் ச. வையாபுரிப் பிள்ளையவர்களைப் போன்று நச்சினார்க்கினியர் அன்று கருதியிருப்பராயின் அவர் இளங்கோவடிகள் சேரன் செங்குட்டுவன் தம்பியல்லர் என்ற கொள்கையினரென்பதும், வஞ்சிக்காண்டத்தில் வரந்தருகாதையினிறுதியிற் கூறப்படும் தன வரலாறு கற்பனையே என்ற கொள்கையினரென்பதும் பெறப்படும். ஆனால் நச்சினார்க்கினியர் அத்தகைய கொள்கைகளைப் பின்பற்றக்கூடியவரல்லர். பழைய வரலாறுகளை நம்பி ஏற்கும் இயல்பினர் என்பது தொல்காப்பிய அரங்கேற்றம், முச்சங்க வரலாறு போன்றனபற்றி அவருரைகளிற் காணப்படும் குறிப்புக்கள் உணர்த்துகின்றன. எனவே, பழைமை விரும்பியும், புராணக் கதைகளை நம்புவோருமாகிய நச்சினார்க்கினியர் சிலம்பின் கதைப் பொருள் நூலாசிரியர் காலத்திற்கு முற்பட்டது என்னும் கொள்கையினர் என்று கொள்ளமுடியாது.

ஆகவே, நச்சினார்க்கினியர் 'பழமை மேற்று' என்பதற்கு எவ்வாறு பொருள்கொண்டிருப்பினும், சிலப்பதிகாரம் தொன்மையின் பாற்படும் என்ற நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கருத்து முழுமையாக ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளக்கூடியதன்று என்பது நன்கு தெளிவாகின்றது.

தோல்

நான்காவதாகக் கூறப்படும் வனப்பிலக்கியம் தோல் ஆகும். தோல் என்னுஞ் சொல்லின் பொருளைத் தொல்காப்பிய உரையாசிரியர்கள் விளக்கவில்லை. பின்வரும் குறளும் அதன் உரைகளும் 'தோல்' என்ற சொல்லின் பொருளையறிய உதவவல்லன :

"தொல்வரவும் தோலுந் கெடுக்குந் தொகையாக
நல்குர வென்னும் நசை"

—[குறள் : பொருட்பால் : நல்குரவு : 1043]

தோல் என்ற சொல்லுக்கு மணக்குடவரும், பரிப்பெருமாளும் 'வடிவழகு' என்றும், பரிதியார் 'சரீரம்' என்றும், காளிங்கர் 'வலி' என்றும் பொருள் கூறுவர். பரிமேலழகர் 'குடிவரவிற் கேற்ற சொல்' என்று பொருள் கொள்ளுவர். தமது கருத்தை விளக்கும்போது,

"தோலாவது 'இழுமென் மொழியால் விழுமியது நுவறல்' என்றார் தொல்காப்பியனாரும். இதற்கு உடம்பு என்று உரைப்பாரும் உளர்; அஃது அதற்குப் பெயராயினும் உடம்புகெடுக்கும் என்றதற்கோர் பொருட் சிறப்பில்லாமை அறிக," என்று தெளிவுபடுத்துகிறார். எனவே, தோல் என்னும் சொல்லிற்கு வலி, சொல், உடம்பு, வடிவழகு என்ற விளக்கங்கள் தரப்படுகின்றமை புலனாகும். இவற்றுள் தோல் : வடிவழகு என்றுகொள்ளல் ஈண்டுப் பொருந்தும். அதனால் தோல் என்னும் வனப்பு வடிவழகுடைய இலக்கியமென்று கூறலாம்.

தோலின் இலக்கணத்தைத் தொல்காப்பியர், "இழுமென் மொழியான் விழுமியது நுவலினும் பரந்த மொழியான் அடிநிமிர்ந்தொழுகினும் தோலென மொழிப தொன்னெறிப் புலவர்" என்று கூறுகிறார்.

இழுமென்னும் ஓசையையுடைய சொற்களால் விழுமிய பொருளைக் கூறுவனவும், பரந்த மொழியினால் அடிநிமிர்ந்து வரத்தொடுக்கப்படுவனவும் எனத்தோல் இருவகைப்படும். இதுதான் இளம்பூரணர், பேராசிரியர், யாப்பருங்கல உரையாசிரியர், யாப்பருங்கலக்காரிகை உரையாசிரியர் ஆகியோர் கொள்கை. கொச்சகத்தான் இயற்றப்படுவன, அகவலான் இயற்றப்படுவன எனத் தோல் இருவகைப்படும் என்பது நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கொள்கை. ஆனால் இருவகை இயல்பும் ஒருங்கு சேரப்பெற்றதே தோல் என்பது அடியார்க்கு நல்லார் கொள்கை.

ஆகவே, இழுமென் மொழியாப்பு, விழுமிய பொருளுடைமை, பரந்த மொழியுடைமை, அடிநிமிர்ந்தொழுகல் என்னும் நான்கும் தோல் என்னும் இலக்கியவகையின் சிறப்பியல்புகள் என்பது புலனாகும்.

'இழுமென்மொழி' என்பதை இழுமென்ற மெல்லிய வாய சொல், குவிந்து மெல்லென்ற சொல் என்று உரையாசிரியர்கள் கூறுவர். ஒழுகிச் செல்லும் ஓசையின் இனிமை, ஒத்திசையின்பம் சான்ற சொற்களே இழுமென் மொழிகளென்று கூறலாம். சங்க இலக்கியங்களிலே இத்தகைய ஒழுகிசையையே 'இழுமென் ஞோசை' என்று சான்றோர் கூறுவர்.

ஆகவே, ஆற்றொழுக்குப் போன்ற ஓசையின்பம் 'தோல்' என்னும் இலக்கியத்திற்கொரு சந்தச்சிறப்பை அளிக்கிறது. 'ஒழுகிசைவண்ணம்' என்று தொல்காப்பியர் கூறுவது இத னையே. அதனால், ஒழுகிசைவண்ணம் தோலின் சிறப்பியல் பாதல் தெளிவாகும்.

'விழுமிய பொருள் பயத்தல்' என்பதை அறம், பொருள், இன்பம், வீடு பயத்தல் என்று நச்சினார்க்கினியார் விளக்குகிறார். மக்கள் வாழ்வைப் பண்படுத்த உதவும் உயர்ந்த கருத்துக்களே (Sublime Ideas) விழுமிய பொருள் என்று கொள்ளல் பொருந்தும். பழைய கதையைப் புதிதாகக் கூறல் தோலின் பொருளாக இருக் கலாமென நச்சினார்க்கினியரும் பேராசிரியரும் கருதுகின்றனர்.

'பரந்த மொழி' என்பதைப் பரந்து வல்லென்ற சொல்லென அடியார்க்கு நல்லார் கூறுவர்; எல்லாச் சொற்களுமென யாப் பருங்கல, யாப்பருங்கலக்காரிகை உரையாசிரியர்கள் கூறுவர். தொல்காப்பியர் உட்கிடை தெளிவாயில்லை.

'அடிநிமிர்ந்தொழுகல்' என்பதை நச்சினார்க்கினியர், 'ஆசிரியப்பாவான் அடி நிமிர்ந்து வருதல்' என்று விளக்குகிறார். யாப்பருங்கல விருத்தியாசிரியரும், யாப்பருங்கலக்காரிகை உரை யாசிரியரும் 'அடிநிமிர்ந்தொழுகல்' 'பலவடியாய்க் கிடத்தல்' என்கின்றனர். இவ்வகையில் அம்மையும் தோலும் இருதுருவங்க ளாக வேறுபட்டுக் காட்சியளிக்கின்றன. அம்மையின் சிறப் பியல்பு அடிநிமிராமையாயிருப்பத் தோலின் சிறப்பியல்பு அடி நிமிர்தலாக அமைகின்றது.

அம்மைக்குரிய அடிநிமிராமைக்கு அடிவரையறை சுட்டிய உரையாசிரியர்கள் அடிநிமிர்தலுக்கு அவ்வாறு வரையறை

செய்யவில்லை. கருதலளவையால் அது பெறப்படும் என வெண்ணினர் போலும். சங்கப் பாடல்களை அடியளவின் அடிப்படையில் தொகுத்த சான்றோர் நீண்ட பாடல்களை 'நெடுந்தொகை' என்னும் நூலாகத் தொகுத்தபோது பதின்மூன்று அடியையே சிற்றெல்லையாகக் கொண்டனர். எனவே, அடிநிமிர் கிளவியின் சிற்றெல்லையாகப் பதின்மூன்று அடியைக் கொள்ளலாம். தொல்காப்பியர் பரிபாடலுக்கு நானூறு அடியையும் அகவலுக்கு ஆயிரம் அடியையும் பேரெல்லையாகக் குறிப்பிடுகிறார். அவற்றையே அடிநிமிர்தலுக்கு அவ்வப்பாவிற்குரிய பேரெல்லையாகக் கொள்ளலாம்.

நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கொச்சகத்தாற் செய்யப்படுவனவற்றிற்குச் சிந்தாமணியையும் ஆசிரியப்பாவாற் செய்யப்படுவனவற்றிற்குத் தேசிகப்பாவையும் எடுத்துக்காட்டாகக் கூறுவர்.

இளம்பூரணர், குணசாகரர், யாப்பருங்கல விருத்தியாசிரியர் ஆகியோர் காட்டும் பாட்டு வருமாறு :

"பாயிரும் பரப்பகம் புதையப் பாம்பின்
ஆயிர மணிவிளக் கழலுஞ் சேக்கைத்
துணிதரு வெள்ளந் துயில்புடை பெயர்க்கும்
ஒளியோன் காஞ்சி யெளிதினிற் கூறின்
இம்மை இல்லை மறுமை இல்லை
நன்மை இல்லை தீமை இல்லை
செய்வோ ரில்லைச் செய்பொரு ளில்லை
அறிவோர் யாஅ திறுவழி யிறுகென"

—மார்க்கண்டேயனார் காஞ்சி

இதனை இழுமென்மொழியால் விழுமியது நுவலல் ஆகிய தோலிற்கு எடுத்துக்காட்டென்பர். பரந்தமொழியான் அடி நிமிர்ந்தொழுகும் தோலிற்கு, "திருமறை தலைஇய இருணிற விசும்பின்" என்னும் தொடக்கத்தையுடைய கூத்தராற்றுப் படையை எடுத்துக்காட்டாகக் கூறுவர்.

அடியார்க்கு நல்லார் சிலப்பதிகாரம் தோலின் இலக்கணம் முழுவதும் அமைந்த நூல் என்பர். கானல்வரி, வேட்டுவவரி போன்ற பகுதிகளால் இழுமென்மொழியாப்புச் சிலம்பில் அமைந்துள்ளமை புலனாகும். விழுமியது நுவலுந்திறன் பதிகத்தில் வரும்.

"அரைசியல் பிழைத்தோர்க்கு அறங்கூற் றாவதூஉம்
உரைசால் பத்தினிக் குயர்ந்தோர் ஏத்தலும்
ஊழ்வினை உருத்துவந் தூட்டும் என்பதூஉம்
சூழ்வினைச் சிலம்பு காரண மாக
சிலப்பதி காரம் என்னும் பெயரால்
நாட்டுதும் யாமோர் பாட்டுடைச் செய்யுள"—

என்ற பகுதியாற் புலப்படும்.

சிலம்பின் காதைகள் நீண்ட ஆசிரியப்பாவாய் அமைந்திருத்தல் அந்நூல் 'பரந்த மொழியான் அடிநிமிர்ந்தொழுகல்' என்னும் பண்புடையதென்பதை விளக்குகின்றது. இவற்றால் தோலின் இயல்புகள் சிலம்பில் அமைந்திருக்கும் பான்மை தெளிவுறுகின்றது.

விருந்து

ஐந்தாவது வனப்பிலக்கியம் விருந்து. விருந்து புதுமை என்பர் பரிமேலழகர். "புதியன கண்டபோது விடுவரோ புதுமை காண்பார்" என்பர் கம்பர். எனவே, பொருள், உருவம், கூறும் முறை என்னும் இவற்றிற் புதுமையழகு கனிந்துள்ள இலக்கியங்களே விருந்து எனப்படும்.

"விருந்தே தானும்,
புதுவது புனைந்த யாப்பின் மேற்றே"—

என்று விருந்திலக்கியத்தின் இயல்பை விளக்குகிறார் தொல்காப்பியர்.

இளம்பூரணர், "புதிதாகப் புனைதலாவது ஒருவன் சொன்ன நிழல் வழியன்றித்தானே தோற்றுவித்தல்" என்று தெளிவுபடுத்துகிறார். இளம்பூரணார் தரும் விளக்கம் புதுமையின் தத்துவத்தை மிக அழகாக இயம்புகின்றது.

பேராசிரியர், "புதுவது கிளந்த யாப்பின் மேற்று என்றது புதிதாகத் தாம் வேண்டியவற்றாற் பல செய்யுளுந் தொடர்ந்து வரச்செய்வது" என்று விளக்குகிறார்.

பழைய கதையைப் புனைந்து கூறுவன விருந்தாகா, புதிதாகப் படைக்கப்பட்ட கதைகளைக் கூறும் தொடர்நிலைச் செய்யுளே விருந்தென்பது நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கொள்கை.

யாப்பருங்கல விருத்தியாசிரியரும், குணசாகரரும் இக்கொள்கையையே வேறு சொற்களால், "விருந்து இப்பொழுதுள்ளாரைப் பாடும் பாட்டு" என்று கூறுகின்றனர்.

பேராசிரியர், நச்சினார்க்கினியர் இருவரும் முத்தொள்ளாயிரம், கலம்பகம், அந்தாதி முதலியவை புதுமை இலக்கியங்கள் என்பர். தொண்ணூற்றாறுவகைச் சிற்றிலக்கியங்களும்—சிறு பிரபந்தங்களும் விருந்து என்னும் வனப்பைச் சார்ந்தன எனலாம். இக்கால இலக்கிய வகைகளிற் சிறு கதை, நெடுங் கதை, தன் வரலாறு போன்றன விருந்தின்பாற் படும்.

இவ்வாறு புதுமை விருந்தின் உயிர் நிலையாயிருப்பினும் அது பழைமையில் வேர்கொண்டதென்னும் உண்மை நினைவு கூர்தற்குரியது. தமிழிலக்கிய வகைகளின் வளர்ச்சியை ஆராய்வதன்மூலம் இவ்வுண்மையை நன்குணரலாம். எடுத்துக்காட்டாக உலாவென்னும் இலக்கிய வகையின் வித்து,

> "ஊரொடு தோற்றமும் உரித்தென மொழிப
> வழக்கொடு சிவணிய வகைமையான"
>
> [தொல். பொருள் : புறத்திணை : 83]

என்ற நூற்பாவிலுள்ளமை காண்க.

இயைபு

ஆறாவது வனப்பிலக்கியம் இயைபு. இயைபே புணர்ச்சி [தொல் : சொல் : உரி : 308] என்பர் தொல்காப்பியர். இயைபென்று தொல்காப்பியர் பெயர் சூட்டிய காரணத்தால் இவ்வகை இலக்கியத்திற் சொல்லும் பொருளும் இயைந்து செல்லும் என்னும் உண்மை உய்த்துணரப்படும். பொருட்டொடராகவேனும் சொற்றொடராகவேனும் இவ்வகை இலக்கியம் அமையும். ஞகரம் முதல் னகரம் இறுதியாகவுள்ள பதினொரு மெய்களால் இறுதலே இயைபின் சிறப்பியல்பு.

> "ஞகாரை முதலா னகாரை ஈற்றுப்
> புள்ளி யிறுதி இயைபெனப் படும்."

மணிமேகலை, உதயணன் கதை என்பன பொருட்டொடர் இயைபு என்பர் நச்சினார்க்கினியர். இவை னகர ஈற்றன. எஞ்சிய ஈற்று இலக்கியங்கட்கு உரையாசிரியர் ஒருவர்க்கும் எடுத்துக் காட்டுக் கிடைக்கவில்லை. சொற்றொடர் இயைபாவது 'இக் காலத்தார் கூறும் அந்தாதி' என்பது நச்சினார்க்கினியம். ஆனால், பதிற்றுப் பத்தின் ஐந்தாம் பத்து சொற்றொடராதல் காண்க.

இயைபிற்கும் தோலிற்கும் வேற்றுமை காண்கின்றனர் பேராசிரியரும் நச்சினார்க்கினியரும். தோல் பெரும்பாலும்

உயிரீற்றதாய் வருமென்றும் இயைபு மெய்யீற்றதாய் வருமென்றும் கூறி இரண்டின் வேறுபாட்டையும் அவர்கள் விளக்குகின்றனர். ஆனால், தொல்காப்பிய நூற்பா தோலின் ஈறு பற்றியோ அதற்கும் இயைபுக்குமுள்ள வேற்றுமை பற்றியோ ஒன்றும் கூறவில்லை. இவ்வேறுபாடு காணப் பேராசிரியர்க்கும், நச்சினார்க்கினியருக்கும் ஆதாரமாயிருந்த இலக்கண இலக்கியச் சான்றுகள் யாவையென்று புலப்படவில்லை.

புலன்

ஏழாவது வனப்பிலக்கியம் புலன் எனப்படும். கற்றோர்க்கும் மற்றோர்க்கும் எளிதிற் பொருள் புலப்படுமாறு தெரிந்த சொற்களால் இயற்றப்படும் இலக்கியம் புலனாகும். குணசாகரர் சொற்களாற் கூறுவதாயின், 'புலன் என்பது இயற்சொல்லாற் பொருடொன்றச் சொல்லப்படுவது' ஆகும்.

"சேரி மொழியாற்* செவ்விதிற் கிளந்து
தேர்தல் வேண்டாது குறித்தது தோன்றிற்
புலனென மொழிப புலனுணர்ந் தோரே"

என்று இதன் இலக்கணத்தைத் தொல்காப்பியர் வகுத்துள்ளார்.

'சேரிமொழி' என்பதைப் பாடிமாற்றம் என்று நச்சினார்க்கினியர் விளக்குகிறார். வட்டார வழக்கும் பேச்சு வழக்கும் செறிந்த கூத்திலக்கியங்களையும், எளிமை படைத்த பிற இலக்கியங்களையும் 'புலன்' எனத் தொல்காப்பியர் வகுத்துள்ளார் என்று கொள்வதில் தவறில்லை.

புலனுக்கு எடுத்துக்காட்டாக விளக்கத்தார் கூத்து முதலிய வெண்டுறைச் செய்யுள் போன்றவற்றைக் கொள்ளலாம் என்பது பேராசிரியர் நச்சினார்க்கினியர் ஆகியோர் கொள்கை.

யாப்பருங்கல விருத்தியாசிரியர், குணசாகரர், இளம்பூரணர் மூவரும் பின்வரும் பாட்டை எடுத்துக்காட்டாகத் தருகின்றனர்,

"பாற்கடல் முகந்த பருவக் கொண்மூ
வார்ச்செறி முரசின் முழங்கி யொன்னார்
மலைமுற் றின்றே வயங்குதுளி சிதறிச்
சென்றவ டிருமுகங் காணக் கடுந்தேர்
இன்றுபுகக் கடவுமதி பாக வுதுக்காண்
மாவொடு புணர்ந்த மாஅல் போல
இரும்பிடி யுடையத்† தாகப்
பெருங்காடு மடுத்த காமர் களிறே"

[* 'தெரிந்த மொழியாற்' என்பது இளம்பூரணர் கொண்ட பாடம்.]
[† 'உழைய' என்பது யா. விருத்தியாசிரியர், குணசாகரர் இருவரும் கொண்ட பாடம்.]

இப்பாட்டு வழக்குச் சொல்லிஞல் இயற்றப்பட்டதென்றே ஆராயாமற் பொருளை உணர்த்துகின்றதென்றே கூறல் பொருத்தமா என்பது ஐயமாக உள்ளது.

இன்றைய இலக்கியத்திலிருந்து எடுத்துக்காட்டுக் கூறுவதாயின் 'எல்லோரும் புரியக்கூடிய நடை எல்லோரும் புரியக் கூடிய சந்தத்தில்' கவி மலர்கள் தொடுத்த விடுதலைக் கவிஞர் பாடல்களையும் அவரைப் பின்பற்றிய கவிஞர் பாடல்களையும் எடுத்துரைத்தல்வேண்டும்.

பாவை சோற்றிற்கொருபதம் :

"யாமறிந்த மொழிகளிலே தமிழ் மொழிபோல்
  இனிதாவ தெங்கும் காணேம்
பாமரராய் விலங்குகளாய் உலகனைத்தும்
  இகழ்ச்சி சொலப்பான்மை கெட்டு
நாமமது தமிழரெனக் கொண்டிங்கு
  வாழ்ந்திடுதல் நன்றே சொல்லீர்
தேமதுரத் தமிழோசை உலகமெலாம்
  பரவும் வகைசெய்தல் வேணடும்"

இழைபு

இறுதியாக, விளக்கப்படும் வனப்பிலக்கியம் இழைபு ஆகும். ஒப்பு, திரிபு, சார்பு என்பனபோல இழைபு என்பதும் 'பு' என்னும் ஈற்றுத் தொழிற் பெயராகும். இழைத்தல் என்பது செய்தல், அமைத்தல் என்று பொருள்படும்.

குறளடி முதலிய ஐந்தடியினையும் அமைப்பதால்—இழைப்பதால் அழகு பொதுளும் இலக்கியமே இழைபு. தொல்காப்பியர்,

"ஒற்றொடு புணர்ந்த வல்லெழுத் தடக்காது
குறளடி முதலா வைந்தடி யொப்பித்து
ஓங்கிய மொழியான் ஆங்கவ மொழுகின்
இழைபின் இலக்கணம் இயைந்த தாகும்"

என இழைபின் இலக்கணத்தை இயம்புகிறார்.

எனவே, வல்லெழுத்துப் பயிலாமை, ஐவகையடிகள் பயிலல், ஓங்கிய மொழியாட்சி, பொருள் புலப்பாடு என்ற நான்கும் இழைபின் சிறப்பியல்புகள் என்று கொள்ளல்வேண்டும்.

வல்லெழுத்துப் பயிலலாகாது என்றமையின் வல்லிசை வண்ணம் நீக்கப்படல் வேண்டுமென்பது பெறப்படும்.

இழைபுகலி, பரிபாடல் போன்ற இசைப் பாட்டாகிய செந் துறை மார்க்கத்தது என்று பேராசிரியர், நச்சினர்க்கினியர் இரு வரும் கருதுதலும் ஈண்டு நோக்கற்பாலது.

ஐவகையடிகள் பயின்று வரலாவது, நான்கு முதல் இருபது எழுத்துவரையில் இருக்குமாறு எழுத்தெண்ணி வகுக்கப்பட்ட குறளடி, சிந்தடி, நேரடி, நெடிலடி, கழிநெடிலடி என்னும் கட்டளையடிகள் அமைந்து வருதலாகும். இப்பகுப்பு ஆசிரியப் பாவிற்குரியமையின் இளம்பூரணரும் அவர் கொள்கையினரும் ஆசிரியப் பாவொன்றை இழைபிற்கு எடுத்துக்காட்டாகத் தருகின்றனர்.

'ஓங்கிய மொழி' என்பது நெட்டெழுத்துக்களாகிய சொல் லென்று நச்சினர்க்கினியர் கருதுகின்ருர். ஆகவே 'நெடுஞ்சீர் வண்ணம்' பயின்றுவரல் இழைபிற்குரிய சிறப்பியல்பென்று கொள்ளலாம்.

'ஆங்கனம் ஒழுகின்' என்று தொல்காப்பியர் குறிப்பிடுவ தால் பொருள் எளிமை இழைபிற்கும் பொருந்துமென்பது உரையாசிரியர்கள் கொள்கை. அதனல், எளிமை இழைபிற் குரிய சிறப்பியல்பு என்று கொள்ளலாம்.

தொல்காப்பியர் 'இழைபு' இசைத்தமிழென்ற கருத்தினராய் அதன் இலக்கணத்தை ஈற்றிற் கூறுகின்ருர் என்பது நச்சினர்க் கினியர் கொள்கை. அன்றியும் யாப்பருங்கலம் முதலியவற்றிற் கூறப்பட்ட சித்திரக் கவியாகிய மிறைக் கவியின் இலக்கணம் ஆசிரியர் தொல்காப்பியராற் கூறப்படவில்லையென்றும் நச்சி னர்க்கினியர் கருதுகின்ருர். இதுவும் பிற்கால அலங்கார ஆய்வின் விளைவென்றே தோன்றுகின்றது.

இளம்பூரணரும் அவர் கொள்கையினரும் தரும் எடுத்துக் காட்டு :

"போந்து போந்து சார்ந்து சார்ந்து
தேர்ந்து தேர்ந்து சூசி நேர்ந்து
வண்டு சூழ விண்டு வீங்கி
நீர்வாய் கொண்டு நீண்ட நீலம்
ஊர்வாய் ஊத வீச ஊர்வாய்
மதியோர் வண்டோ டொல்கி மாலை
நன்மணங் கமழும் பன்னெல் லூர
அமையோர் மென்றோள் ஆயரி நெடுங்கண்
இணையீர் ஓதி யேந்திள வனமுலை

இரும்பமல் மலரிடை யெழுந்த மாவின்
நறுந்தழை துயல்வரூஉஞ் செறிந்தேந் தல்குல்
அணிநடை யசைஇய வரியமை சிலம்பின்
மணிமருள் வணர்குழல் வளரிளம் பிறைநுதல்
ஒளிநிலவு வயங்கிழை யுருவுடை மகளிரொடு
நளிர்முழவு முழங்கிய வணிநிலவு மணிநகர்
இருந்தளவு மலரளவு சுரும்புலவு நறுந்தொடை
கலனளவு கலனளவு கலனளவு கலனளவு
பெருமணம் புணர்ந்தனை யென்பவஃ
தொருநீ மறைப்பின் ஒழிகுவ தன்றே"

[இச்செய்யுளின் பாடம் பலவாறு வேறுபட்டுள்ளது.]

இப்பாட்டில் ஐவகையடியும் மயங்கி வருதலும், வல்லொற்றுப் பயிலும் வல்லிசை வண்ணம் அமையாமையும், ஓங்கிய மொழிகள் ஒருவாறு வருதலும் காண்க.

இதுகாறும் கூறியவற்றாற் 'பொருந்தக் கூறிய எட்டு' என்று தொல்காப்பியர் குறிப்பிடும் எண்வகை வனப்பிலக்கியங்களின் இயல்புகள் ஓரளவிற்குத் தெளிவாகும்.

III

தொல்காப்பியர் கால இலக்கிய ஆராய்ச்சியின் பெற்றியை யும் போக்கையும், எண்வகை வனப்புக்கள் பற்றிய தொல்காப் பியர் சிந்தனைகள் நமக்கு ஓரளவுக்கு விளக்குகின்றன. பண்டைய மரபுக்கியையத் தொல்காப்பியர் தம் சிந்தனைப் பிழிவை நூற்பாக்களில் திட்பநுட்பமாகத் தருகிறார். அவர்க்குப் பன்னூறு ஆண்டுகளின்பின் வாழ்ந்த உரையாசிரியர்கள் அவர் எண்ணக் குவியலை விளக்கப் பெரிதும் முயன்றுள்ளனர். உரையாசிரியர்களிடையே காணப்படும் கருத்து வேறுபாடுகள் தெளிவுபெறுவதற்கு ஓரளவுக்குத் தடையாகவுள்ளன.

இலக்கியத்தின் பொருளும் நோக்கமும்

இலக்கியத்தின் பொருள் வாழ்க்கை என்பதுதான் தொல் காப்பியர் கொள்கை. மக்களின் உணர்ச்சிகளும், செயல்களும், அகப் போராட்டங்களும் புறப் போராட்டங்களும், கனவுகளும் நனவுகளும் இலக்கியத்தின் பொருளாகத் தொல்காப்பியரால் விளக்கப்படுகின்றன. அகப்பொருள், புறப்பொருள் என்ற இரு பெரும் பிரிவுகள் முதற்பொருள், கருப்பொருள், உரிப் பொருள் என்ற பாகுபாட்டின்கீழ், பலதுறைகளாக விரித்துரைக் கப்படுவன இலக்கியத்தின் பொருளை மிகநுட்பமாக விளக்கு கின்றன.

இலக்கியம் உயர்ந்த நோக்கமுடையதாய் இருத்தல்வேண்டு மென்பது தொல்காப்பியர் கொள்கை. 'இழுமென் மொழியான் **விழுமியது நுவலினும்**' என்று அவர் கூறுவதிலிருந்து பொது வாக உயர் நோக்கமுடையதாய் இலக்கியம் அமைதல் வேண்டு மென்று உய்த்துணரலாம்.

பாகுபாடு

இலக்கியத்தைத் தொல்காப்பியர் பாச் செய்யுள் உரைச் செய்யுள் எனப் பகுக்கின்றார் என்பது செய்யுளியல் உணர்த்தும் உண்மை. ஆனால் தொல்காப்பியரின் வனப்பிலக்கியச் சிந்தனை களை நோக்குமிடத்து வேறு வகையிலும் அவர் பாகுபாடு செய் கிறாரோ என எண்ண வேண்டியுள்ளது. செய்யுளைத் தனிநிலைச் செய்யுள், தொடர்நிலைச் செய்யுள் என்று பகுக்கலாமெனவும், தொடர்நிலைச் செய்யுளைச் சொற்றொடர்நிலைச் செய்யுள் (அந்தாதி), பொருட்டொடர் நிலைச் செய்யுளென்று பகுக்கலா மெனவும் தொல்காப்பியர் கருதியிருத்தல் வேண்டுமென்பது உரையாசிரியர் கொள்கை. 'இயைபு' என்ற சொல்லின் பொருளாழமே இத்தகைய கொள்கைக்கு அடிப்படையாயுள்ளது. மேலும், தண்டியலங்காரப் பாகுபாட்டை உரையாசிரியர் தொல் காப்பிய ஆய்வில் இணைத்திருத்தலும் கூடும்.

அளவு

இலக்கியத்தின் அளவுபற்றித் தொல்காப்பியர் திட்பமான வரையறை யெதுவும் செய்யவில்லை. பாவகைகளின் அடிவரை யறையைக் கூறியிருப்பினும் இலக்கியவகை ஒவ்வொன்றின் அளவையும் அவர் வரையறை செய்யவில்லை. அடி நிமிர்ந் தொழுகல், அடிநிமிராமை, குறளடி முதலா ஐவகையடியும் பயிலல் என்று சில இலக்கிய வகைகளின் அளவைச் சுட்டிச் செல் கிறார். குறுமை, நெடுமை என்பன பொதுவியல்புகளாதலின் உரையாசிரியர்கள் வேறுபட்ட அளவுகளைக் குறிக்கின்றனர்.

நடை

இலக்கிய நடை எத்தகையதாய் இருத்தல்வேண்டும்? எளிமையா கடுமையா இலக்கியத்தைச் சிறப்பிப்பது? தொல் காப்பியர் சிந்தனைகள் சில உங்கட்கு இடந்தருகின்றன. 'புலன்' என்ற வகைபற்றித் தொல்காப்பியர் கூறுவதிலிருந்து பொருட் புலப்பாடு ஆகிய எளிமை இலக்கியத்தைச் சிறப்பிக்கவல்லதென அறியலாம். 'அழகு'பற்றி அவர் கூறுவன அரிதின் பொருள்

உணர்த்தும் கடுமைக்கும் அவர் இடமளிக்கின்ருரோ என எண்ணத் தூண்டுகின்றன. ஆனல், இலக்கியத்தை இயம்பும் முறையில் எளிமையிருப்பினும் கடுமையிருப்பினும் கவர்ச்சியிருத்தல் வேண்டுமென்பது தொல்காப்பியர் கொள்கை. வனப்பிலக்கியம்பற்றிய அவர் சிந்தனைகளில் இக்கருத்து ஊடுருவியிருத்தலை நுண்ணிதின் நோக்குவோர் உணர்வர்.

சொல்லாட்சித் திறன்

இலக்கியத்தின் நடையை உருவாக்குவன சொற்களை ஆளுந் திறனே. அதனல், சொல்லாட்சித்திறன் இலக்கியத்தின் சுவையைச் சிறக்கச் செய்யும் என்பது தொல்காப்பியர் கருத்து எனலாம். பல்வகை இலக்கியப் பிரிவுகளிலும் ஆளப்படவேண்டிய சொற்களிவையெனத் தொல்காப்பியர் விளக்கந்தருகின்ருர். சின்மென்மொழி, செய்யுண்மொழி, இழுமென்மொழி, பரந்தமொழி, சேரிமொழி, ஓங்கியமொழி ஆகிய இத்தனை வகைச் சொற்களையும் தொல்காப்பியர் குறிப்பிடுகிருர். இவற்றை இலக்கியத்தில் ஏற்ற இடங்களில் ஆசிரியன் ஆள்வதால் ஆற்றல், இசைநலம், சுவைநலம், பொருணலம், பொலிவு, போன்ற பண்புகள் அமைந்து இலக்கியத்தைச் சிறப்பிக்கின்றன என்று உய்த்துணரலாம்.

ஆற்ருெழுக்கு

இலக்கியத்திற் சொல்லும் பொருளும் தொடர்புடையனவாக —இயைபுடையனவாக ஒழுகியமைதல்வேண்டும். இத்தகைய தொடர்புடைமையால் நீரோட்டம்போன்ற இலக்கிய ஒழுக்கு விறுவிறுப்பை ஊட்டி இலக்கியத்தின் சுவைநலத்தைப் பெருக்கும். ‘இயைபு’ என்ற சொல்லின் புதைபொருள் இவ்வுண்மையை உணர்த்துகிறது.

கற்பனை

கற்பனையென்பது ஒன்றைக்கூறும் முறையிலுள்ள அழகு. இதனைப் ‘புனைதல்’ என்றும் கூறலாம். ‘சீர் புனைந்தியாப்பின்’ என்ற தொல்காப்பியத் தொடர், கற்பனை இலக்கியத்திற் பெறும் இடத்தைத் தொல்காப்பியர் எவ்வாறு போற்றுகிருர் என்பதை உணர்த்தவல்லது.

வண்ணம்

இலக்கியங்களின் ஓசைவேறுபாடுகளைத் தொல்காப்பியர் வண்ணமென்று குறிக்கிறார். பிற்காலத்தார் இதனைச் சந்தம் என்பர். ஓசைநலனும் இலக்கியச் சுவையைப் பெருக்கவல்லது என்பதைக் கண்ட தொல்காப்பியர் பாஅவண்ணம் முதல் முடுகுவண்ணம் ஈறாக உள்ள இருபதும் இலக்கியத்தில் இடம் பெறும் பான்மையை விளக்குகிறார். எண்வகை வனப்புக்களிற் பயின்றுவரும் மொழிகள் இவை என்று தொல்காப்பியர் கூறுவன வற்றிலிருந்து எவ்வனப்பு எவ்வண்ணமுடையதென்பதை அறிய முடிகிறது. ஆகவே, இலக்கியச் சுவையாராய்ச்சிக்கு வண்ணமும் இன்றியமையாதது என்பது தொல்காப்பியர் துணிபு என்று கொள்ளல்வேண்டும்.

பழைமையா ? புதுமையா ?

இலக்கியத் துறையிலும் ஏனைய துறைகளிலுள்ளதுபோலவே பழைமைக்கும் புதுமைக்கும் போராட்டம் இருந்துவருகிறது. பழையனவேண்டா புதியனவேண்டும் என்பர் புதுமைப்பித்தர் கள். பழையனவே நல்லன, புதியன அல்லன என்பர் பழைமை போற்றுவோர். இரு துருவங்களையும் இணைக்கும் வகையில் தொல்காப்பியர் கொள்கை வகுக்கிறார். பழையனவும் புதியனவும் வளர்ச்சிக்கு இன்றியமையாதன என்பது தொல்காப்பியர் துணிபு. 'தொன்மை மறவேல்' என்று தொன்மையென்னும் வனப்புப் பேசுகிறது. ஆக்கத்திறனுக்கும் முன்னேற்றத்திற்கும் புதுமை ஓரறைகூவல் என்கிறது 'விருந்து' என்னும் வனப்பு. ஆகவே, உமாபதி சிவாச்சாரியார் கூறுவதுபோலத்,

"தொன்மையவாம் எனுமெவையும் நன்றாகா இன்று
தோன்றியநூல் எனுமெவையும் தீதாகா"

—[சிவப்பிரகாசம் : பாயிரம்]

என்று தொல்காப்பியர் கருதுகிறார் எனக் கொள்ளல்வேண்டும். இது தொல்காப்பியரின் இலக்கிய ஆய்வின் அடிப்படை.

பேச்சுமொழியா ? செம்மொழியா ?

இலக்கியம் பேச்சு மொழியிலியற்றப்படவேண்டுமா? செம் மொழியில் இயற்றப்படவேண்டுமா? என்பது இன்றைய இலக்கியப்போர். இப்போரினால் விளையும் தடுமாற்றத்திற்கு முடிவு காண்கிறார் தொல்காப்பியர். சிலவகை இலக்கியங்கள்

செம்மொழியிற் படைக்கப்படலாம்; சில பேச்சுமொழியிற்—சேரி மொழியிற் படைக்கப்படலாமெனப் பாலமமைக்கிறார் தொல்காப் பியர். கூத்திலக்கியத்தில் உரையாடல்களை அமைக்கும்போது கல்லாதார் பேச்சுக்கள் செம்மொழியில் நிகழ்கின்றன எனக் காட்டுதல் கூத்திலக்கணத்திற்கே முரணாகும். எனவேதான், கூத்திலக்கியம் போன்றவற்றிற் சேரிமொழி பயிலலாமென்பதை உணர்த்தும் வகையில் புலனின் இலக்கணத்தைத் தொல்காப் பியர் வகுத்துள்ளார். 'மக்கள் பேச்சிலிருந்து உயிர்பெற்று மக்கள் பேச்சிற்கு உயிர்கொடுப்பது செய்யுள்' என்ற டி. எஸ். எலியற்றின் கொள்கையைத் தொல்காப்பியர் அன்றே வகுத்து விளக்கம் தந்தார் என்று கொள்ள இடமுண்டு. இது தொல் காப்பியரின் பரந்த மனப்பான்மைக்கு உரைகல்.

வாழும் இலக்கியம் படைக்க வழிவகுத்த தொல்காப்பியர் உயிரனைய இக்கொள்கைகளைப் பொன்னேபோற் போற்றல் வியப்போ?

News and Notes

AN EARLY TAMIL PRINTED BOOK IN THE BOMBAY UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

Among the Library's collection of rare books, there is an extremely fine specimen of early printing in India. The book has two title pages facing each other—the first in Latin and the second in Tamil. The Latin title page is as follows :

> Theologia | Thetica | in | qua omnia dogmata ad salutem | cognoscendi necessaria perspicua methodo | tractantur ac Dictis classics | probantur | ad propagationem Evangelii | Christi inter Gentes Orientales in | Lingua Damulica | scripta | a | Missionaries Danicis | Bartholomeo Ziegenbalgio | & | Johanne Ernesto Grundlero | Tranquebariae | Tpyis ac sumptibus Missionis Danicae | Anno MDCC XVII.

An English rendering of the above title will read as follows :

> " Positive theology, in which all the dogmas necessary to know salvation are dealt with in clear method and proved by classical references, written in the Tamil language by the Danish Missionaries, Bartholomeus Ziegenbalg and John Ernest Grundler for the spread of the Gospel of Christ among the Oriental Nations. Printed at the Printing Press and at the cost of the Danish Mission of Tranquebar Year 1717 ".

The book is a small octavo of 735 pages including a preface of eight pages and two pages of contents. It is bound in contemporary vellum. It is divided into two parts. The first part consisting of seven chapters, contains spiritual instructions regarding the nature of God. The second part of twenty-seven chapters deals with man. The entire text including the preface is in Tamil. The edition is not listed by Brunet nor in the British Museum Catalogue of Tamil Books. The book was reprinted at Halle and this edition is listed in the British Museum Catalogue as 2nd edition.

The author of the original work of which this is a translation was a German theologian—Johann Anatasius Freylinghausen (1670–1739).

The protestant mission at Tranquebar had a royal sponsor in the person of King Frederick IV of Denmark. Though the mission itself was of Danish origin its first personnel were Germans. They were Bartholomeus Ziegenbalg, one of the translators of the book, and Henrich Pluetschau. They embarked at Copenhagen on November 29th, 1705, and set sail on the following day. They reached their destination on July 9th, 1706, to receive not an official welcome such as might be expected from their own fellow countrymen, but an official hostility and persecution, including imprisonment at the hands of the Danish Governor of Tranquebar. This undisguised malevolence, however, proved a stimulus to the indomitable spirit of Ziegenbalg who, in spite of all opposition laid well and truly the foundation of Protestant Missions in India.

The two young German missionaries were convinced that if they were to preach successfully the Gospel of Christ, they had to apply themselves seriously to the study of the language of the people they were to serve. In Tranquebar at that time this meant Portuguese and Tamil. They cast lots as to who should study the Tamil language and it fell in favour of Pluetschau. Ziegenbalg was to busy himself with Portuguese.* However, for some reason or other, the decision was reversed. Pluetschau learned Portuguese and returned to Germany after five years in the mission field, while Ziegenbalg became a Tamilian and spent his whole life in Tamil Nad, except for brief visits to Europe to collect funds for his mission.

Johann Ernestus Grundler, the co-translator, set out for the Tranquebar mission from Copenhagen on November 17th, 1709. Soon after his arrival, he concentrated on the study

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* Propagation of the Gospel in the East; being an account of the success of two Danish Missionaries. . .in several letters, I, p. 27, London, 1718.

of Tamil language and literature, specially the medical works of the Tamils. In order to devote himself solely to his study, and to have only Tamilians about him, he moved to nearby Porayar. There he ate and dressed just like a Tamilian.

The story of early printing in India begins with the establishment at Goa of the first printing press over four hundred years ago. The press had been brought to India from Portugal and belonged to Dom Joao Nunes Barreto, the newly appointed Patriarch of Ethiopia, who was heading a mission to that country. The mission landed at Goa on September 6th, 1556 on its way to Ethiopia. The press, however, never reached Ethiopia. The departure of the missionaries had to be postponed indefinitely owing to the unexpected opposition of the Negus, with the result that the press remained where it had been installed, in Goa.

The first book to be composed in an Indian language and printed in an indigenous script in India was the *Doctrina Christam em Lingua Malauar Tamul* of Fathers Henrique Henriques and Manoel de San Pedro. The Tamil types for the book were cut by a Jesuit lay brother John Gonsalves and the book was printed at Quilon in 1578. The only copy of this book is found in the Harvard University Library, Massachusetts, U. S. A.[§]

The story of the Tranquebar Mission Press belongs to the second part of the history of the press in India. The 'Latin Printing Press' was donated by the English Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1711. It came to Madras via Brazil, and was entrusted to Grundler in August, 1712. In October, 1712 they were able to begin printing in Tranquebar.[†] The 'Cast of Malabar Types,' a present from the German friends of the Mission arrived in

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§ Boxer, C.R. "A tentative list of Indo-Portuguese Imprints 1556—1674." *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama* No. 73, 1956, pp. 24-25.

† Propagation of the Gospel in the East; being a collection of letters from the Protestant Missionaries ...in the East Indies, etc., Part III, 1718, pp. 19 and 24-25; 105.

Niecamp, J.L. - *Historie de la Mission Danoise dans les Indes Orientales* etc., Tome II, pp. 63.

Tranquebar in July, 1713. Within few weeks printing began, and on September 19, the first printed pages and a few weeks later the first two Tamil booklets were out. Many of the Tamil letters produced at Halle were found to be imperfect and some were missing. The missionaries soon set up a foundry with a view to cast new and better types.‡ A long series of publications in the Tamil language were printed at the Press, including the New Testament, the translation of which had been commenced by Ziegenbalg on October 17, 1708, two years after his arrival in the country, and brought to completion on March 21, 1711.

B. ANDERSON

‡ Propagation of the Gospel, etc., III, 1718, pp. 65, 68, 76, 111, 117.

REGIONAL CENTRE FOR TAMIL AT BENARES

Mr. N. Murugesa Mudaliar, Vice President, Academy of Tamil Culture, addressed the regional centre for Tamil at the Queen's College, Benares on the 2nd March, 1963. Under the scheme of National integration some thirty persons are learning Tamil with a stipend from Government. The group consists of University students and teachers and outsiders, including men and women. Addressing the group, Sri. Mudaliar gave some practical suggestions for learning Tamil, particularly spoken Tamil. He said that a knowledge of Tamil would not only help national integration but would also make accessible the treasures of the Tamil literature and rich devotional literature in it. He said that if an Uttara Bharat Dravida Bhasha Prachara Sabha were set up at least even now, it would not be a day too soon. The classes are in charge of Mr. Siddhalingam, of the Dept. of Tamil and Mr. Sivaraman of the Dept. of Philosophy, Benares University. In the discussion that followed the talk, the suggestion was made that a learned body like the Academy of Tamil Culture might undertake the preparation on a scientific basis of suitable readers for the benefit of learners in North India and even learners in the Western countries and America. Desire was also expressed for gramaphone or tape records of simple songs or poetry in Tamil as Tamil films helped only to enjoy the music and not learn or appreciate Tamil. Mr. K. N. Vastava, Principal, Queen's College, Benares thanked Mr. Mudaliar for his instructive talk.

N. MURUGAN

" TIRUKKURAL " IN FRENCH

Mr. Rene Etimble, Professor of Comparative Literature, University of Paris, said here to-day he was trying to arrange for the translation of the Tirukkural and Panchatantra into French for the benefit of French students of Indian literature.

The Professor who is on a month's tour of India at the invitation of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, arrived this afternoon from Calcutta on a three-day visit to the City. He was accompanied by Mr. Gilbert Duprez, technician of the Radio and Television programme of France.

Prof. Etimble told newsmen at the airport that he was editor of a bureau, which translated Asian literature into French with aid from the UNESCO. He had published French translations of Vedic poems and literary works of Kabir, Tukaram and Kalidasa ("Kumara Sambhavam"). Recently, he published "Silappathikaram" of Ilango Adigal in French, rendered by Prof. Alan Danielou. He said nearly 400 students had taken up studies in the main cultures of Asia at the post-graduate level in the Paris University.

— *The Hindu* (Madras), 11-3-63.

TAMIL SCHOLAR'S VISIT TO S. AFRICA
GOVT. REJECTS REQUEST

The Interior Minister, Senator Jan de Klerk, has rejected a request to allow a Tamil scholar, Dr. R. P. Kandasamy, to visit South Africa on a lecture tour.

The Hindu religious and cultural organisation here that made the request, was told the Minister cannot give permission. No reason was given.

"During the past few years, the Minister did not place a ban on cultural, educational and religious leaders coming from India on lecture tours," an official of the organisation said.

— *The Mail* (Durban), 5-3-63.

FEATURES OF KAVADI CHINDU

Folk melodies like the *Kavadi Chindu* had inspired great composers like Thyagaraja and Ramaswami Sivan, said Mr. S. Ramanathan, when he gave a talk and demonstration on

Kavadi Chindu under the auspices of the Madras State Sangita Nataka Sangham on February 28, at the Sastri Hall, Mylapore. One of the nine forms of musical compositions mentioned in old Tamil works, chindu included *Nondi Chindu* and *Vazhinadai Chindu*. *Kavadi Chindu* was a form of *Vazhinadai Chindu* which was sung by pilgrims to dispel their fatigue as they proceeded on foot to the Murugan shrines of Tamil Nad with the *Kavadi* on their shoulders. *Kavadi Chindu* contained some delightful tunes remarkable for their subtle rhythm. It was composed by Annamalai Reddiar of Chinnikulam (1865—1891) for the Zamindar of Ootumalai, a patron of the arts of those days. The speaker urged the musicians to take more interest in these simple tunes as used to be done by the Karaikudi Veena Brothers, Muthiah Baghavathar and others. Prof. P. Sambamurthi, who presided, said that many ragas in carnatic music had their origin in folk music.

— *The Hindu* (Madras), 10-3-63.

Book Review

TAMIL ENCYCLOPAEDIA, Vol. VIII, published by Tamil Valarchi Kazhagam, Madras.

This is the eighth volume of the Tamil Encyclopaedia styled the Kalai-K-Kalanciyam published by the Tamil Valarchi Kazhagam, Madras. This volume covers terms beginning from the letter ம to the letter ர and contains about 1500 articles, written by about 210 contributors. The encyclopaedia is expected to come to a completion with the next volume.

This volume keeps up the standard of the previous volumes and is a further proof that scientific and technical ideas could be expressed well enough in Tamil. Take for example the article on population, மக்கள் தொகை. In this immigration is translated as அக வலசை and emigration as புற வலசை. This is correct translation although the word வலசை is not in common use. Maternity is translated as கருவுயிர்த்தல். A better term might be பிள்ளைப்பேறு. Under population control, the method of discouraging association of the male and female is translated as கூட்டுறவுத்தடைகள். ஆண் பெண் நெருங்கிப்பழகாமை might be better. The trouble in translating ideas as a compact term does not always work satisfactorily. The genius of the Tamil language is such that it lends itself to easy and natural employment provided it is not forced into phrase formation in other languages. Compound words are unnatural in tamil.

It is unfortunate that Tamil words are not employed in preference to Sanskrit words where such words are perfectly possible. For example, under 'மகரந்த் சேர்க்கை' (pollination), the following statement occurs:

'தாவரங்களின் சந்ததியை விருத்திசெய்ய மகரந்தம் அத்தியாவசியம்.' Surely easy Tamil words could be found for சந்ததி, விருத்தி, அத்தியாவசியம்.

The editors could have made it a point to include date of works or persons as chronology is a line of knowledge that has hitherto been neglected in Tamil works. This is omitted in many places and even where accurate dates could be ascertained only the circa is given.

It is not clear what principle has been adopted of the edition in transliterating Sanskrit proper names. For example மகாராஷ்டிரம் should properly be மகாராட்டியம்.

It is astonishing that in a Tamil encyclopaedia Tamil classical works are dismissed in a few lines. For example மணிமேகலை is disposed of in eight lines whereas Pancha Mahakavyam is given in seven columns and many other terms of general knowledge liberal space. This is total lack of sense of proportion and unfair to Tamil classics and culture.

The article on மறைமலையடிகள் is good. It mentions that all the publications of the author are now published by a particular firm. It does not however mention that his biography published by his son is also available.

The principle adopted in illustrating the articles is not clar. Less deserving headings are furnished with illustrations. A photo of a bronze 2 Meekandar, the celebrated author of Sivajranabothan could have included.

The principle adopted in including headings for eminent men is not also clear. There is a heading for V. Ramaswami but not for Dr. C. V. Raman or

S. Ramanujam (the Mathematical prodigy) or E. V. Ramaswami Naickar (Social reformer).

It is gratifying that a detailed article is devoted for யாழ்.

Under மோட்டார்வண்டி, there is a liberal number of photographs of various makes of cars and buses. This smacks of commercial advertisement and in any case such extravagance in illustration for an ordinary matter seems ill-deserved.

The first article on 'ம' மசாம் written by T. P. M. is rather terse and technical which would be above the heads of an ordinary reader resorting to an encyclopaedia.

Inspite of the defects noticed, the compilation is a useful one and it is to be hoped that in the last and supplementary volumes, many omissions would be rectified.

N. M.

Errata to TAMIL CULTURE Vol. X, No. 4
on the article
'Where did the Dravidians come from'?

Page No. 125—Line 8—Read Chalcolithic for calcolithic.

Page No. 126—Line 33—Read half-a-millennium for half-a-million.

Page No. 127—Line 29—Read hydronomic for dydronomic.

Page No. 128—Line 12—Read Bannerjee for Deshpande.

Page No. 129—last line—Add B. C. after seventh-eighth century.

age No. 131—Line 11—Read Petrie for Petre.